SOCIAL CHANGE IN A NORTH INDIAN VILLAGE

SOCIAL CHANGE

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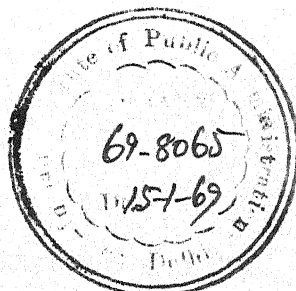# NORTH INDIAN VILLAGE

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January, 1969

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TO
MY FATHER

FOREWORD

Since the 1950s many sociologists and social anthropologists, Indian, American, British and others, have conducted field-studies of individual villages in various parts of the country. This intellectual activity had its origins in diverse forces operating in India and elsewhere. One source was a movement which began in a few departments of anthropology in the Western world to carry out systematic studies of villages in different parts of the world, principally by the application, with suitable modifications, of the method of "participant observation" developed originally by Bronislav Malinowski in his study of the Trobriand Islands.

This movement gained in strength after the end of World War II when many Westerners who had seen military service in Asia and Africa joined universities and took up courses of study in social anthropology. The War had revealed to Western countries, in a pointed manner, their ignorance of non-Western cultures and the cost of such ignorance in military terms. Funds became available to universities to carry out field-research in various parts of the world, and social anthropology emerged from a century of pre-occupation with primitive if not vanishing tribes, to study peasant communities encapsulated in wide political, economic, religious and cultural systems, and in some cases, even to towns, trade unions and political parties. In the process the distinction between social anthropology and sociology became blurred, and social anthropologists produced first-hand and intimate accounts of villages in Japan, China, Thailand, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Europe, Canada, Mexico, etc.

The end of World War II also saw the retreat of colonialism from many parts of Asia and Africa, and the "new nations", eager to develop themselves in the shortest possible time, embarked upon programmes of planned development. India was one of the first countries to do this, and that under democratic auspices. In October 1952 India started an ambitious, country-wide programme of development of rural areas entitled

"Community Development Programme". Development through planning at all levels revealed a need for systematic information, and for periodic evaluation of what had been achieved. This meant that social scientists, economists, statisticians, political scientists, demographers, sociologists, social anthropologists and social psychologists had to become involved in carrying out research into various aspects of planning. A great deal of research was carried out under this stimulus, and much of it was intended to answer questions and problems which arose in the actual process of carrying out developmental tasks. Some of this research, while still sensitive to change and development, was cast in a wider intellectual frame, and this came from professional sociologists and anthopologists retaining a live contact with universities. Dr. A. P. Barnabas's study belongs to this latter category.

The village studies carried out by sociologists and social anthropologists have resulted in important contributions to our knowledge of Indian social institutions and sister disciplines such as political science and public administration, and heightened our awareness of the complexities and difficulties of centralised planning in a huge and diverse country such as India. The limitation of studies of individual villages has been sufficiently commented upon in relation to the total number of villages which exist (over 5,60,000 villages, and 8,00,000 settlements), and in the context of the existing and growing contact which villages have with neighbouring villages, urban markets and pilgrimage and educational centres. How can an individual village be isolated from its matrix? Sociologists in India are grappling with this problem, and are gradually moving to the study of different types of net-works *viz.*, marriage, kinship, economic, religious, educational and political. Individual castes and caste associations spreading across many villages are also being studied. Some sociologists and anthropologists are trying to study regions.

The village Sarangapur which Dr. Barnabas selected for field-study is located at a distance of five miles from Allahabad on the Allahabad-Rewa road. It has a population of 517, grouped into ten endogamous *jatis*. The Brahmins who constitute a majority of the population of Sarangapur, and

owning a good share of the village land, constitute the dominant caste.

No single village can be called "representative" for even within what may be called a single region there are considerable differences between village and village. Dr. Barnabas is well aware of this fact but in selecting Sarangapur he had in mind certain factors as the average size of the village in India, its social composition, its accessibility to towns nearby, its occupational pattern, percentage of literates, etc. He calls Sarangapur a "modal" village.

> "Judged by the above criteria, Sarangapur satisfied most of the criteria for a "modal" village. The population of the village was five hundred and seventeen. There were ten castes in the village but about six of them had fairly large populations. About one quarter of the people worked outside the village—a larger percentage than usual—as Sarangapur was about six miles from a metropolis, the city of Allahabad. Even among those who worked outside the village, most of them had land and considered agriculture their major occupation. The majority of the population was Hindu, Brahmins were the largest group, which is not a common feature, but in most villages one caste will be relatively larger and more dominant than the others. In this village it happened to be Brahmins."

Dr. Barnabas set some modest goals before him in undertaking the study of Sarangapur : (1) to establish a "base line" for future studies of change; (2) to record the changes which were occurring when he was conducting the study; and finally (3) to test the validity of the "multiple factor theory" of social change as developed by Dr. W. W. Reeder.

Dr. Barnabas is aware of the conceptual difficulties involved in establishing a "base line"—Indian villages underwent many important changes during British rule and it is wrong to refer to any date in this period as a base line. The commonsense expedient of consulting elderly informants about the "old days" has its limitations especially when it is unsupported by local documentary evidence. People's memories are selective and not quite reliable, and the past is frequently viewed through a mythopoeic haze. The construction of a base line calls for a

great deal of caution, and it is at best probabalistic. Once it is constructed, however, the changes which occurred in the village could be described, but the evaluation of the changes, and quantification of change in different areas of social life present very difficult problems. Dr. Barnabas has ideas of revisiting Sarangapur for a study of the changes which have taken place there since he carried out his fieldwork. It is to be hoped that he will be able to do this soon. From the point of view of the scientific understanding of the processes of social change it is perhaps more important to restudy the villages which were studied over a decade or more ago, than to invest resources in the study of new villages.

Regarding the utility of the "multiple theory of directive factors in social action" in relation to the change taking place in the village I must express my reservations. This theory merely states that there are several factors responsible for social change and that they produce a cumulative effect on any particular situation. Stated so baldly, the "theory" expresses only a truism. The "factors" listed include "expectations", "goals and values", "living comfortably with oneself in the face of conflict", "habit, custom, and institutionalized behaviour", "support", "self-commitment", "force" and "unusual shared experiences", and I find each one of them is vague, and a few even subsume a multiplicity of traits. Further, should not one say something about the relative importance of each of these factors ?

Dr. Barnabas has carried out his study principally through the use of a comprehensive schedule and this has been supplemented by a limited amount of participant observation. Here again Dr. Barnabas is in the main tradition of American rural sociology. In the method of participant observation as employed by social anthropologists, on the other hand, the investigator would be expected to live in the village for at least a year or so, and collect his information through the use of the local language in his dealings with the villagers. He would resort to counting wherever he considered it necessary. The kind of data which is gathered as a result of the use of the method of participation is qualitatively different from that obtained through other methods.

Dr. Barnabas's study reveals that the "quantum"—if that is indeed the term—of change is greatest among the highest and dominant caste *viz.*—the Brahmins. Correspondingly, conformity to traditional caste rules is greatest among the Harijans. While many Brahmins do not mind permitting Harijans to enter temples, the non-Brahmin castes do. Most Brahmins want the headship of the family to go to an able person irrespective of his age whereas the Harijans want it to go to the oldest male in the household irrespective of ability. The Brahmins are also in favour of education for women while the others are not. The age at marriage is high for Brahmins and Muslims while the others practise early marriage.

It is interesting to note that the household among the higher castes frequently contains more than one family (which consists, according to Dr. Barnabas, of a married couple with or without children). But the impact of this observation is diminished when Dr. Barnabas states that one-third of the multi-family households had more than one kitchen. The obvious conclusion, one would think, is that they are not "households". A single kitchen is the acid test of family life as is even recognised in ordinary speech—people use the criterion of *chula* (stove) to determine whether a family is single or split. Living under the same roof is not a reliable test of being a household or family since sometimes members of different castes are found living under the same roof.

Dr. Barnabas concludes that those people who belong to the higher castes, have a greater number of changes than those belonging to the lower castes. The same is true of other criteria such as high-status occupations, education and income. This would suggest that in Sarangapur at any rate the higher castes also have education, high-status occupations, and higher income than the lower castes. Similarly those with larger holdings of land have better agricultural practices. All this means that other expressions of stratification are consistent with those based on caste and land. That this pattern is likely to continue is shown by the greater readiness of the top castes—especially the Brahmins—to change while the lower castes, especially the Harijans, are very conservative. One would like to know if this situation is true of the region as a whole or is peculiar to Sarangapur.

All those who wish to understand the changes occurring in rural India will welcome Dr. Barnabas's book, I commend it to students of rural sociology.

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October 17, 1968
DELHI.

PREFACE

Administration has generally been defined as "getting things done". While the definition is simple, the process involved in getting anything done is quite complex. There are many factors that have to be understood and taken into consideration before something can be achieved. The administrative machinery operates in a social setting which consists of the social institutions and cultural patterns. An understanding of these is necessary for an administrator to be effective. Administration also involves relations with the public. A proper rapport can be established only when there is an understanding of the structure and the social processes taking place in society. Most societies are dynamic—in other words some change is occurring in them. In some of them the change may be *sui generis*. In others, particularly the developing countries there is a conscious and deliberate effort to bring about change. The administration is generally the agent of change. It has the role of a catalyst as well. But to be an effective agent of change the administrator must understand the phenomenon of change, *i.e.*, factors that accelerate or retard change, type of persons more prone to change, etc. Achievement of development by the administration is facilitated when it has the knowledge of the social environment in which it operates.

Dr. Barnabas's thesis provides an insight into the various aspects of the processes of social change. It also describes the structure of the rural society. The publication, thus, provides to the administrator an understanding of the socio-cultural milieu in which he functions. This understanding should help him in a more efficient performance of his task.

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J. N. KHOSLA
Director
Indian Institute of Public Administration

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October 15, 1968
New Delhi.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

Social change has always been a challenge to students of society. How does it occur; who initiates change; what factors facilitate or hinder change; what are the effects of change on structure, functions and values; are questions which are compelling and seem to have an eternal validity. The answers are yet to be found. Parsons says that the present state of knowledge in sociology is sufficient only to explain the phenomenon of change but not to theorise. Other sociologists have said that social change cannot be understood without studying the total society. These very difficulties have been more a challenge to sociologists to study social change rather than a restraining factor. Almost every sociologist has made some attempt to analyse this tantalising yet elusive phenomenon.

It is this compelling challenge that the author has tried to meet in a limited way in the present study. It is a micro study and consequently while it does provide greater insights and allows for the studying of the totality of the community—the question of generalisations from such studies always remains. Whether the study is micro or macro, the basic questions—the definition, the measurement and the consequences of social change have to be looked into. These questions are valid both at the universalistic and particularistic levels. The micro study can answer this only at a particularistic level but always with the hope that it does have wider application.

The field work was conducted in 1957-58 and was submitted for a doctoral thesis to Cornell University in 1960*. This raises the question whether the data is still relevant. The study was concerned with the basic social processes and social relations. These do not change rapidly and still have a relevance. Further, the study provides a systematic baseline from which social change can be measured when further studies are conducted. In most studies of social change one has to assume

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*Consequently wherever the rate of exchange is mentioned, it has been calculated at Rs. 4.71 per dollar.

that the score was "Zero" before the study. Malinowski rightly raises the question whether such an assumption is valid. A real measure of social change can be gained only when there are longitudinal studies. About a dozen studies which deal with social life in rural India have been published since 1960. However, only two of them deal directly with social change— (Epstien and Wisers)* although most others do touch on social change. The approach in the present study is different from the two studies mentioned.

The methodology in the study is a combination of survey and participation techniques. The author did want to change the format for the publication but on the advice of many friends he decided to leave it as it is. There is clearly a need for experimenting with methodology in our rural social studies. The present study was conceived partly as an experiment in methodology.

The study is an attempt at understanding the total social processes in rural India with specific reference to social change. It is an experiment in measuring social change. It is also an experiment in methodology. In fine, the overall purpose is to understand the social realities of rural life of India. If the study helps to some extent at least in this, the effort would have been worthwhile.

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*T. S. Epstien, *Economic Development and Social Change*, Manchester University, 1960.

William and Choralotte Wiser, *Behind Mud Walls*, California Press, 1962.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

In recent years there has been a great deal of interest in studying the life in the villages of India. The publications of Opler, Dube, Marriott, Srinivas, Lewis, and others are indicative of the work that is being done. There are probably two main reasons for this sudden interest. First is the growth in recent years of the fields of Cultural Anthropology and Sociology. These two subjects have been introduced into university curricula in ever increasing numbers. Out of thirty-eight universities in India, ten offer sociology courses. In six of them sociology is a recent introduction. Another evidence is the formation of the "Conference of Sociology" in 1956. It has met every year regularly since then.

The second reason is the emergence of the "Community Development" which is a gigantic undertaking by the Government of India to improve the conditions of village people. This programme made it necessary for the social scientists to indicate the need for understanding the people for whom the programme was planned. As the response of the people was not as enthusiastic as expected, the need to analyse the causes of the lack of enthusiasm arose. Dube's book, *India's Changing Villages* is a critical study of the Community Development Programme in two villages.

These circumstances made it necessary to gather empirical data by actual field work. Before this period much had been written on village life—particularly on the economic and caste aspects—but very little of it was based on scientifically gathered data. There were a few exceptions, notable among them being *Behind Mud Walls* by Wiser.[1]

One of the problems in any sociological study in India is *with reference to* making generalisations. Great differences exist between the various states and even between regions within states in some instances. Language, dress, type of settlement,

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[1] C.V. and W.H. Wiser, *Behind Mud Walls*, Agriculture Mission, Inc., 1951.

mode of agriculture, are not the same in all parts of the country. Generalisation cannot be extended from a study of one village to other villages in other parts of the country. This fact is made plain in the book, *Village India,* edited by Makim Marriott,[2] which describes villages studied in different states (Mysore, Gujarat, Rajasthan, U.P., Madras) of the country. The differences are easily discerned. The book, *Indian Villages,*[3] edited by Srinivas, also consists of studies made in different parts of the country and also shows the differences.

Opler points out that there are differences even within the same regions :

"Some pains have been taken to emphasize the striking differences between these two villages because there has been a tendency to assume Indian villages all much alike and that a programme for them can be uniformly developed and uniformly applied with an expectation of fairly uniform results. The truth is that even in the same general area there are widely different types of villages varying according to caste constitution, land area, population, land ownership patterns, degree of isolation and traditions and that of various types react to the same stimuli differently."[4]

The differences have been emphasised but this is not to deny that there are some common factors. While the number of castes, the range of population, extent of facilities available, the pattern of settlement may vary, the attitudes, the social relations based on caste hierarchy, certain rituals and activities seem to be common, regardless of the part of the country in which the village is situated. The differences can be easily noticed. The underlying common features can be described only after more studies have been conducted in different parts of the country.

The reason for undertaking the study has been discussed in the introductory section. More specifically spelled out, the purposes of the study are as follows :

(1) To give a description of a village community in India. This would provide a base line so that a study at a

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[2] M. Marriott, *Village India,* Chicago University Press, 1955.

[3] M.N. Srinivas, ed., *Indian Villages,* West Bengal Government, 1954.

[4] M.E. Opler, "Two Villages of Eastern Uttar Pradesh", *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 54, No. 2, 1952, p. 190.

       later stage could measure the changes that are taking place in the village.

(2) To understand the changes and the process of change taking place in the village at the present time.

(3) To test the multiple factor theory of directive factors in social action in relation to the changes taking place in the village.

In spite of a few studies in the recent past, it could be said without much hesitation, that there is very little scientific material available about village life in India. In fact, Dube says that our need for facts is so great that almost any type of study should be welcome. The statement implies that there are so few studies, either descriptive or theoretical, that study of either nature would be a contribution. The villages have been with us for a long time. They have been taken for granted to such an extent that few written descriptions of the village life exist. Until the 1950's, most of the books on the villages were of an impressionistic nature. After 1950, there have been a few based on systematic study. Many of them give a clearer description of the life of the village. In the present study, too, there is an attempt to describe many aspects of the life of the village, but it is not confined solely to that purpose.

One of the main reasons for not having sophisticated theoretical studies in India is that there has been a dearth of basic material on which to develop hypotheses and theories. Hence, there is as much need for descriptive studies as there is for theoretical studies.

One of the major fields of interest for sociological study in India is social change. Study of change refers to two different points in time. At present, there is very little base line material on which to make a study of change. All that can be done at present is to indicate the trends of change based on hypothetical reconstruction of the base line, derived either from the past descriptions of the villages of India in general, or based on conversations with older people. Obviously, the decisions made will be arbitrary and it would be difficult to develop a rigorous design or a theoretical frame of reference.

From the applied point of view, too, the base line would be useful. Due to lack of any base line material, any agency or study interested in change considers the present degree of change

to be at "zero point". This is an inevitable assumption under the present circumstances, but it may lead to erroneous conclusions because no society is entirely static. To get a real measure of change occurring in any community, a base line study is a necessity.

The National Community Development Programme is expected to begin functioning in the village described in the dissertation in 1960. The author hopes to make a study after a period (may be three years) so as to be able to analyse the changes and the process of change, particularly when an external stimulus is introduced.

HYPOTHESES WITH REGARD TO CHANGE : SET 1

The questions that need to be answered in understanding the process of change taking place in the life of the villagers are at least three:

(1) What are the aspects of the life of the villagers which are changing ?

(2) Who are the people who adopt changes ?

(3) What are the agencies that bring about change ?

The foregoing hypotheses are tentative answers to the questions that have been stated.

The basis for these hypotheses is that every society is dynamic and some change is occurring in every society. The village community here is considered a part of the society.

(1) All aspects of the life of the villagers are undergoing change.

(2) The higher the caste, the greater the change.

(3) Greater change takes place among the younger generation than among the older generation.

(4) The major force of change is contact with the outside world.

The first and the fourth hypotheses are implicit in the conclusions arrived at by Opler in his study of a North Indian village.[5]

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[5] M.E. Opler and R.D. Singh, "Economic, Political, and Social Change in a Village of North Central India", *Human Organization*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1952.

The second hypothesis is derived from a study of the author among lay leaders[6] in an extension work project. There is also support for this in the studies of Dube[7] and Gist.[8]

The third hypothesis is also derived from Dube's study. He says that receptivity to change is greater among the younger group.[9] It must, however, be pointed out that in many studies age is negatively associated with practice adaptation, provided the other variables are held constant.[10]

It is necessary for sociologists in India to have some theoretical frame of reference with regard to change to make a contribution towards the understanding of human behaviour as well as to help the administrators in making policies. A social theory may be viewed as a set of answers to questions relevant to the understanding of human relations and social action. From this point of view social change would be considered social action and a theory that explains social action should also be able to explain social change. It is change in the behavioural patterns of the individual that brings about change in the society as well.

In the present thesis, the questions that come up are: (1) How do changes come about ? (2) Can the direction of the change be predicted ? If the first question is answered, one would have gone a long way in answering the second question.

The multiple factor theory, as developed by Dr. W.W. Reeder, suggests that several factors are responsible for social action, rather than one single factor.[11] He further states that, "Each can be treated as an independent variable. In most situations,

[6] A.P. Barnabas, "Characteristics of 'Lay Leaders' in Extension Work", *Journal of University of Baroda,* Vol. VII, No. 1, 1958.

[7] S.C. Dube, *India's Changing Villages,* Cornell University Press, 1958.

[8] N. Gist, "Caste Differentials in South India", *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 19, No. 2, 1954.

[9] S.C. Dube, *op. cit.,* p. 150.

[10] (1) E.A. Wilkening, "Acceptance of Improved Farm Practices in Three Coastal Plan Countries", *Technical Bulletin No. 98,* North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, 1952.

(2) J.H. Copp, "Toward Generalization in Farm Practice Research", *Rural Sociology,* Vol. 23, No. 2, 1958.

[11] W.W. Reeder, "Leadership Development in a Mormon Community", unpublished paper read at the Rural Sociological Society Meeting, September, 1959.

not one but several of the factors are operative and tend to produce a cumulative effect". The several factors which are operative are: (1) opportunity, (2) ability, (3) expectations, (4) goals and values, (5) living comfortably with oneself in the face of conflict, (6) support, (7) self commitment, (8) force, (9) unusual shared experiences, and (10) habit, custom, and institutionalised behaviour.

Some of the factors which are mentioned will encourage change. Some other factors will restrict change. Some of the factors can work either way, restrict or encourage change, *e.g.*, opportunity is always likely to encourage change, while institutionalised behaviour may restrict change, whereas support can be either for change or for maintaining the *status quo*.

The available data restrict the factors that can be analysed. The factors that will be considered in answering the question, "Why do or do not individuals change ?", are : (1) opportunity, (2) ability, (3) support, (4) force, (5) habit, custom, and institutionalised behaviour.

HYPOTHESES : SET 2

Based on the multiple factor theory, the following hypotheses are suggested :

(1) The greater the opportunity for making changes, the greater the change.
(2) The greater the ability for making the changes, the greater the changes.
(3) The rate of change is related directly to support either for or against change.
(4) The greater the force for change, the greater the change.
(5) The less institutionalised the behaviour, the greater the change.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The terms that need definitions are many. It is felt that it would be best to define only the terms used in the hypotheses. The other terms will be defined as they occur since they would be more meaningful in context.

(1) "Change" : Any alteration in the behaviour of an individual, be it with regard to material aspects or non-material aspects, is considered a change.

(2) "All aspects" : refers to material, economic, social, and organisational aspects.

(3) "Greater" : is measured by the number of changes in individual habits.

(4) "Younger generation" : All persons below thirty years of age are considered to belong to the younger generation and those over thirty-one years of age as belonging to the older generation.

(5) "Higher caste" : Paraphrased, the third hypothesis would read : "Brahmins would have the largest number of changes and the scheduled castes the least number of changes, the other castes having an intermediate position." One difficulty in the third hypothesis is the status to be given to Muslims in the caste hierarchy. In the village studied, Muslims in most cases would be nearer the caste groups designated "B" rather than group "A" (Brahmins) from the viewpoint of economic and educational standards. Hence, Muslims would be treated as equivalent to "B" group.

(6) "Outside contact" : refers to travel of the villagers outside of the village, as well as to people from outside visiting the village.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

This is a study of the village community of Sarangapur. In the present chapter, the reasons for the selection of the community, and the field work procedures are explained.

SELECTION OF THE COMMUNITY

Previous Contact

It was anticipated that it would be easy to develop a rapport in this village. The Extension Department of the Agricultural Institute (of which the author was a staff member) has had relations with this village over a long period of time. The Department has a building and previously had two workers in the village. Two of the students at the Institute were from this village. They agreed to help in getting the cooperation of the people in the village. The author himself was no stranger to the village, having visited there often in connection with social service and extension projects undertaken by the students of the Agricultural Institute. Further, a research assistant was chosen from the village to aid in the field study.

Accessibility

The second factor in the selection of the community was its accessibility. It was situated only five miles from the Agricultural Institute on a main road. Accessibility was necessary as the author was not able to live in the village and sometimes sudden situations developed which needed to be reported and observed.

Provide a Base Line

The need for base line studies has already been discussed. Two advantages accrued from the choice of this village. (1) It provided a base line and enabled the study of the process of social change even when there was no agency trying to force the pace of change. (2) The study could serve as a basis for an evaluation of the effectiveness of the Community Development Programme which is yet to be introduced.

A Modal Village

Reference has been made to the studies that have been undertaken. All the villages studied had a population of more than one thousand. These are large villages. The census report for Uttar Pradesh of 1952 indicated that seventy-five per cent of villages had less than six hundred inhabitants. Opler has pointed out that it is not easy to find villages similar in all aspects. While it may not be possible to find exactly matched villages, there is need to have some criteria by which a "modal" or "representative" village could be designated. It is difficult to define a "modal" village in which most of the "variables" would be controlled. However, the following factors may be considered in trying to define a modal village:

1. Population range : It should be between three hundred and six hundred. A very large percentage of villages of India will have this population range.

2. Occupation : The main occupation must be agriculture. Seventy per cent of the rural population is dependent on agriculture for their living. Hence, in an average village most of the people must be engaged in agriculture.

3. Literacy rate : The rate of literacy in India is 16:6.[1] This includes both the urban and the rural areas. Generally, the literacy rate in rural areas is lower than in urban areas. In a study of four hundred villages[2] it was found that literacy rate in the villages varied from twelve to twenty-five per cent. Actually this was higher than the figures given by the census report for Uttar Pradesh, viz., ten per cent. So the "modal" village could have a literacy rate between ten to twenty per cent.

4. Isolation : If a village is situated too close to a metropolis there will be certain factors which make it difficult to consider such a village as a "modal" village. On the other hand, a village that is completely cut off cannot be considered a "modal" village either. Any attempt to indicate the distance that should exist between a "modal" village and a metropolis, or how far it should be from some connecting highway or railroad station, can at best be arbitrary. All that could be said is that there should be a "reasonable" degree of isolation. It is possible that the

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[1] Census Report, 1951.

[2] Extension Evaluation, Allahabad Agricultural Institute, 1957.

other characteristics will automatically determine the isolation aspect.

5. Castes : One of the most important factors to be studied in a village is the inter-caste as well as the intra-caste relations. There are no studies made which indicate the number of castes usually found within a population range of three hundred to six hundred villagers. In a study made by the author[3] of one hundred and sixty-eight villages, fifty-nine (35 per cent) had a population range between three hundred and six hundred inhabitants. Of these, fifteen per cent had one to two castes, twenty-four per cent had three to four castes, twenty-seven per cent had five to six castes, thirteen per cent had seven to eight castes, and twenty-one per cent had more than nine castes. It is not necessary to labour the point that there is great variation. The concentration, however, seems to be between five to eight castes. The decision here also has to be arbitrary as there may be more than one caste in a village with just one or two families. The population strength of each caste is an important factor. Some thought will also need to be given to the gradation of the castes in the total society. If there are five to eight castes, it would usually mean that castes of all gradations are likely to be present. A modal village should have between five to eight castes.

6. Religion : The majority of the population in India is Hindu—about eighty-five per cent of the total population. It would, therefore, mean that the modal village should have a substantial majority of Hindus. It would not make a great difference if the entire population was Hindu.

7. Geographical features : The topography of the country is varied. It is needless to point out that villages in desert areas, mountainous areas, or in extremely high rainfall areas are not going to be "modal". The village will have to be one in which temperate climate prevails—an area in which rainfall averages around thirty to forty inches per year and with distinct winter, summer, and monsoon seasons.

8. Dominant caste : Although there may be many castes in a village, one of them is usually very dominant. The existence

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[3] A.P. Barnabas, "Village Organizations and Other Factors that Influence Response to an Extension Programme", unpublished manuscript.

of a dominant caste could be considered among the criteria for a modal village.

The criteria have been suggested so that there would be some similarity among the villages studied. This would make it easier to make comparisons.

Except for two of the criteria (number of castes, and dominant caste) the rest are based on information from the census report of 1951. The number of castes is based on a study by the author. The idea of the dominant caste was developed by Srinivas in his study of a village in Mysore.[4]

Judged by the above criteria, Sarangapur satisfied most of the criteria for a "modal" village. The population of the village was five hundred and seventeen. There were ten castes in the village but about six of them had fairly large populations. About one quarter of the people worked outside the village—a larger percentage than usual—as Sarangapur was about six miles from a metropolis, the city of Allahabad. Even among those who worked outside the village, most of them had land and considered agriculture their major occupation. The majority of the population was Hindu. Brahmins were the largest group, which is not a common feature, but in most villages one caste will be relatively larger and more dominant than the others. In this village it happened to be Brahmins.

"Small" Village

Another advantage in studying this small village was that greater intimate relations could be established and one could study the village more in its totality. In the larger villages studied, often only a few aspects are singled out for emphasis. This is evident in most of the studies that have been mentioned. Dube's *An Indian Village* and Lewis' *A Village in North India* are more complete than the others. But both had many research workers helping them. It is not possible for every research worker to employ several assistants. Even those studies do not have information on many aspects such as social control, social ecology, perception of problems and their solutions as conceived by the villagers. To understand the rural people, the

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[4] M.N. Srinivas, "The Dominant Caste", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 61, No. 1.

village needs to be studied as much in totality as possible. In suggesting the idea of a "modal" village this factor, too, has been kept in mind. A village should be one which can be studied comprehensively and in a reasonable period of time. The period would have to be at least one year as there is need to study the ritual, festival, and agricultural cycles, and this cannot be done unless a village is studied for a year or so. Further, it should be possible for one or two people to conduct the study.

<div align="center">UNITS OF STUDY</div>

The Community

The major unit of study was the village community. The individuals were interviewed, but the focus of the questions was with regard to their perceptions of the community and, at times, the caste. The spatial dimension of the village is considered to form the boundaries of the community.

The Caste

There were ten castes in the village. One of the assumptions of the study was that there would be differential behaviour patterns in the different caste groups. Hence, the caste was one of the units of study. A caste has been defined as "an endogamous group or a collection of endogamous groups bearing a common name, membership of which is hereditary, arising from birth alone, imposing on its members certain restrictions in the matter of social intercourse, either (1) a common traditional occupation or (2) claiming a common origin or (3) both following such an occupation and claiming such an origin and generally regarded as forming a simple homogeneous community". For purposes of the analysis, some of the castes were grouped together.

The Brahmins were the only caste comprising a single unit in the study. The remaining nine were divided into two units because the number of people in some of them was so small that it would not have been useful and worthwhile to analyse each caste separately. The universe was classified into four groupings which will be referred to throughout this dissertation as : A, B, C, and D. Group A consisted of Brahmins ; Group

B or "other touchables", *i.e.*, those with whom the Brahmins could take water. In this village they were next in order of hierarchy to Brahmins. Group C consisted of Scheduled Castes, and Group D of Muslims. Muslims are a religious group and hence cannot be classified under any caste group. They need to be treated separately. The table below gives the analysis of the groupings, the castes included in each group, their traditional occupations, and the number in each.

Group	Name of the Caste	Traditional Occupation	Total
A	Brahmins	Priests or teachers	52
B	Vaish	Business	
	Kahar	Water carriers	
	Kunbi	Farmers	
	Ahir	Milkmen	22
C	Kumhar	Potters	
	Chamar	Leather workers	
	Pasee	Pig keepers	
	Bhangi	Sweepers	28
D	Muslims	No traditional occupation	23

The Individual

A study of the changes in the community can be made by studying the individuals in the village community. In some cases, reasons as to why particular individuals made some particular changes has been studied. These case studies helped in testing the multiple factor theory.

SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE

The total population of the village was five hundred and seventeen. The plan was to interview all the adult males. The adult males were defined as those who had reached the age of eighteen years. Two exceptions were made. These were two students who had appeared for their high school examination and were sixteen years old.

No sampling procedures were necessary as the total universe of the adult males was to be interviewed.

There was a total of one hundred and thirty-seven adult males who could have been interviewed, of which one hundred and twenty-five or ninety-one per cent were interviewed. Of those who were not interviewed, about half were not available because they were working outside the village or had gone on a pilgrimage. The other half would not consent to an interview. They answered questions when asked orally, but when a schedule was taken to them they usually found some excuse to avoid answering questions so the responses could not be written down. The general excuse was that they were busy and asked us to come later. When three or four attempts met with failure they were given up.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UNIVERSE

The characteristics included are age, education, land owned, income, and marital status. These are analysed according to the basis indicated, namely, four caste groupings.

Age

Table 1 : Percentage Distribution of Population
by Age and by Caste*

| Age | Caste Group | | | | |
	A	B	C	D*	Total
16-20 years	20	13	11	9	14
21-25	21	18	25	4	19
26-30	10	24	21	5	14
31-35	8	13	14	26	14
36-40	12	14	4	4	9
41-45	4	...	7	13	6
Over 46	25	18	18	39	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

Fourteen and a half per cent were between sixteen to twenty years old; eighteen and a half per cent were between twenty-one and twenty-five years; fourteen per cent were between twenty-six

*Group D is not a caste, but a religious group, however, for the sake of shortening the title of the table this is not indicated in each table.

and thirty years; fourteen per cent were between thirty-one and thirty-five years; nine per cent were between thirty-six and forty years; six per cent were between forty and forty-five years; and twenty-five per cent were over forty-six years of age.

There was a fairly equal distribution in all age groups among the four groups. Only in the case of the Muslims were the number of people over forty-six years of age much larger (39 per cent) as compared to other groups. The reason for the larger group over forty-six years may be due to the fact that a large percentage of young people had migrated to Pakistan.

Education

Of all the people interviewed, forty-six per cent were illiterate. The lowest percentage of illiteracy was found among the Brahmins and the highest in the scheduled castes group. Among Muslims, thirty-nine per cent of the people were illiterate while among the B group the percentage was sixty-four. There was one student in the second year of college among the C group who could not be interviewed as he was not in the village during the time of the study. Among Muslims there was one lawyer and two engineers, both of whom could not be interviewed as they were not staying in the village but their families were residing in the village. One of the Brahmins was a trained teacher. Fifty-four per cent of the population sample were literate. The village had a literacy percentage between twenty and twenty-five among the males. This is high compared to the literacy rate of the state of Uttar Pradesh, which was ten per cent according to the 1951 census report. (Refer to Table 2.)

Table 2 : Percentage Distribution of Population by Literacy and by Caste

| Level of Education | Caste Group | | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total
Illiterate	21	64	82	39	46
Literate	8	18	14	9	11
Primary school	35	14	4	22	21
Middle school	19	...	...	26	13
High school	11	...	...	4	6
Higher than high school	6	4	...	...	3
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
N	52	22	28	23	125

Land Owned

Some questions such as the amount of land owned could be asked only of the heads of households. The total number of heads in the sample was seventy-seven.

Table 3 shows that eighty-one per cent of the people of C group had no land. Even in the total population the largest group is that of those who do not possess any land—34 per cent. Twenty-nine per cent owned between one and five *bighas*. (One *bigha* is equal to two-thirds of an acre.) Very few of the B, C and D groups had more than ten *bighas*. The largest holding was that of a Brahmin—forty *bighas*.

Table 3 : Percentage Distribution of Population
(Heads of Household Only) by Size of Land
Owned and by Caste

Land Owned (in *Bighas*)	Caste Group A	B	C	D	Total
No land	...	14	81	39	34
1-5 bighas	17	60	9	39	29
6-10 ,,	22	...	5	11	10
11-20 ,,	44	7	5	6	17
21-30 ,,	13	...	...	...	4
Over 31	4	...	...	...	1
Not reported	...	19	...	5	5
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
N	23	21	15	18	77

Income

Table 4 indicates the income per month of the heads among the sample.

The respondents were asked to calculate what they earned in terms of cash money. Thus the agriculture yield and the wages given in grain were calculated on the basis of what it would be if paid for in cash according to the existing market rates. So this is not "factual" data. But the information in Table 4 gives a fairly accurate picture of the economic conditions of the people of the village. There was no problem with those who had outside jobs and paid in cash.

Table 4 : Percentage Distribution of Population
(Heads of Households) by Income per month
and by Caste

Income per month in Rs.	Caste Group				Total
	A	B	C	D	
11—25	...	20	14	6	9
26—50	9	53	57	44	39
51—75	4	...	24	17	12
76—100	18	20	5	...	10
101—150	4	7	...	11	5
151—250	30	...	...	11	12
251 and up	35	...	...	5	12
Not reported	...	...	...	6	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	23	21	15	18	77

Thirty-nine per cent of the population had a monthly income of between twenty-six and fifty rupees. Only nine per cent of the Brahmins fell in this category, whereas, for the other groups the percentage of people falling in this category was very much larger. Among the Brahmins, sixty-nine per cent, and among the Muslims, twenty-seven per cent had an income of more than one hundred rupees per month. None among the C group had as much income. Among the B group only seven per cent had as much income.

Table 5 provides an analysis of the subjects' opinions as to whether they considered their income "more than sufficient", "sufficient", "not sufficient", or "very little".

Table 5 : Percentage Distribution of Population
by Sufficiency of Income and by Caste

Extent of Sufficiency of Income	Caste Group				Total
	A	B	C	D	
More than sufficient	4	...	...	...	1
Sufficient	35	13	6	22	20
Not Sufficient	52	40	40	28	38
Very little	9	47	54	50	41
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	23	21	15	18	77

Only in group A was one person found who said that his income was more than sufficient. He felt so because he could lend, as well as save, money on the salary he earned. Even among those who said their income was sufficient, the Brahmins are the largest in number. Among those who consider their income very little, the C group is the largest with fifty-four of them saying so. The reasons given under each of the classifications were as follows :

For sufficiency

1. Can fulfil all my needs
2. Do not need to borrow
3. Can educate my children

For insufficiency

1. Cannot fulfil all my needs
2. Always borrowing
3. Not enough money to feed the family
4. Cannot buy bullocks
5. Cannot maintain any "standard of life"
6. Cannot educate children
7. Cannot arrange for marriage of children
8. Cannot keep servants
9. Cannot send son to college

For very little

1. Can barely manage for food and clothes
2. Borrowing
3. Many debts
4. No regular work
5. No food, no clothes, no home
6. Can eat only once a day
7. Cannot educate son
8. Not able to pay taxes

It is of interest to note that only in A group were such things as "cannot send son to college", "cannot maintain a standard of life", given as indications of insufficiency, whereas among other groups insufficiency connoted inability to get their daily needs of life.

Marital Status

Table 6 shows the marital status of the population.

Eighty-six per cent of the population was married. Four per cent had married more than once. There was an extreme case of a man having a fifth "wife" in B group, the previous wives having run away.

Table 6 : Percentage Distribution of Population
by Marital Status and by Caste

| Marital Status | Caste Group | | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total
Married	81	86.5	93	87	86
Unmarried	13	4.5	3.5	4	8
Widower	2	4.5	...	...	2
Married more than once	2	4.5	3.5	9	4
Not reported	2	...	...	...	...
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
N	52	22	28	23	125

FIELD TECHNIQUES AND SOURCE OF DATA

The Schedule

The major source of data for the study was obtained through a schedule which was finalized after two pre-tests. The schedule was printed in English. This was done because a large number of people of the village were literate in Hindi. If the schedules were to be in Hindi, the tendency might have been to confine themselves to the items of choice indicated in the schedule. It was also possible that this would have divided their attention between reading the questions and answering them which would have interrupted and delayed the interviews.

Participant and Non-participant Observation

The schedules were supplemented by other observational techniques. The author observed many of the rituals and festivals and also attended a meeting of the village *panchayat* (council). These observations were mostly non-participant although a

certain amount of participation was warranted in some of the festivals.

Informal Discussion

Apart from the schedules, the author elicited much information through informal conversations. On some days no schedules were taken to the village. As the purpose of the study was to understand the outlook and behaviour of the people, it was felt that at times it would be good just to sit around and talk with villagers in an informal atmosphere. The information on "community feeling", "factions", and "leadership" is based on such discussions. The schedule was a necessity as it provided a frame of reference to proceed. The informal discussions prevented being overbound by the frame of reference.

Informants

To get the historical background of the village, some of the older people of the village were contacted. This was in addition to the interview at which they responded to the schedule.

Information regarding land and land revenue was obtained from the *Amin*, a minor official of the revenue department.

In specific situations, the individuals concerned were contacted and information regarding that specific situation was gathered.

The research assistant, the two students of the Institute, and a few other villagers provided a great deal of background information about situations and people.

General Comments

Two factors need to be pointed out. First : In this study many methods were combined to get as extensive information as possible of the village studied. The use of the combind methods, the author feels, helped in getting a deeper understanding of the village community. Second : It is often felt in India that the villagers would not answer questions if their answers were written down. The villagers are suspicious. The experience they have of being interviewed is mostly with revenue or census agencies. The attempt to introduce a long schedule, responses to which were written down in their presence, was in itself an experience.

Establishing Rapport

Before the schedule was administered, the author visited the village for nearly a fortnight, spending considerable periods of time just getting acquainted with people. These initial contacts were used to inform the people about the interviews and to give some indication of the type of questions included in the schedule. It is the impression of the author that these preliminary procedures contributed to obtaining a good entry and rapport in the village. Interviews were obtained with ninety-one per cent of the adult males.

The interviews were conducted with the aid of a research assistant. He had been a student at the Agricultural Institute for a year and had worked as a Village Level Worker for nearly three years. This had given him a certain understanding of the village people. He felt that people of his own village would not hesitate in answering any question that he might ask of them. For training instruction, he was asked to take a short questionnaire on social values and to interview about ten people in another village located close to Sarangapur. A survey had been conducted in the village about a year before. He found that people did not respond as he had expected them to, and it gave him an idea of the type of resistance that he would face in interviewing the village people. The difficulties he faced were : (1) People were in groups and it was difficult to meet them individually. (2) There was reluctance among the lower castes to respond to the questions. (3) Some people did not bother to reply as the previous study had not helped the village in any way. He was then given another longer schedule to be completed in another nearby village where he knew most of the people. Here, too, he met with a certain amount of resistance although quite confident that people would easily respond. These experiences helped him realise that he should proceed carefully in his own village. The understanding and the skill resulting from these experiences helped a great deal in conducting the interviews successfully in the village studied.

The Interview

The interview was conducted wherever individuals were available : in homes, in fields, and at places of work, *i. e.*, those who

worked in the village itself such as shop keepers, potters, tailors, etc. Each interview took two to four hours. Often a person had to be visited more than once before the schedule could be completed. In the early stages there was not much difficulty in meeting people because anybody free could be interviewed as the sample consisted of the entire adult male population. As more and more interviews were completed, it became more difficult to meet people. It was anticipated that the interviewing would be completed in two months, but it took nearly four months.

Time Element

The schedules were completed in about four months. The field work, however, was continued for over a period of nine months. This included the time spent in establishing rapport. Further, many of the observations reported were made after the completion of the schedules.

THE PROBLEM OF MEASUREMENT

A real measure of change cannot be obtained unless there are studies at two different points in time. One way the situation can be handled in a single study is to ask the individuals of the changes that they have made over a given period of time. Another (particularly with regard to non-material changes) is to fall back on literature, both impressionistic and systematic, to indicate the changes in the community studies. All that can be done in single studies is to indicate the trends rather than to make definite assertions about the changes that have taken place in the community.

With regard to the forces of change, the procedure will be to present the data and then to discuss the various factors that have brought about change. The schedule contained questions as to what made them change. These will be presented and analysed in a consolidated form since some of the information gathered in informal discussion is also relevant.

As the data available are not readily applicable to each of the factors separately, nor sufficient to develop a scale, the attempt will be to analyse the behaviour of the individuals who made changes and those who did not in terms of the multiple factor theory on an overall basis, rather than a discussion of change in

relation to each of the factors in the theory. The chapter on "Theoretical Aspects of Change" will deal with these factors.

STUDY PROCEDURES

The thesis is divided into three sections. In the first section the problem is introduced, the methodological procedures explained, and the literature reviewed.

The second section deals with the description of the village. The following factors were studied :

1. Historical background of the village.
2. Occupations—types of occupations and preferences.
3. Social institutions—family, caste, local self-government.
4. Social participation—community sentiment, festivals and rituals, factions and leadership.
5. Agriculture – land holdings, improved practices, implements, etc.
6. Material possessions.
7. Service agencies—Where did the villagers go to satisfy their needs – physical and social ?
8. Attitudes toward : education, recreation, litigation, age of marriage, religion, solving problems.
9. Social control—How is the behaviour of the individual within the family, caste, and community controlled ?
10. Social ecology—as indicated by places of marriage, work, travel, education, pilgrimage, and marketing.
11. The needs of the villagers, as perceived by the villagers (individual and community).

In the last three chapters the changes that are taking place in the village with regard to material as well as attitudinal aspects, are discussed. The agents of change are described. The characteristics of the people who changed are indicated. A theory of social change is suggested.

CHAPTER III
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

It was pointed out earlier that the interest in village studies is of recent origin, particularly from the point of view of organised field studies. Dr. Majumdar states as follows :

"We, in India particularly, suffer from a dearth of properly formulated hypotheses in social sciences. This is probably due to the absence of significant base line research."[1]

He further states :

"It is increasingly felt by anthropologists and sociologists that exploratory research has to be the first step in the formulation of problems for more precise investigations and for the further development of relevant hypotheses which are likely to lead to definite and specific establishment of priorities to take steps toward social amelioration."[2]

This statement was made at the end of 1955 at a conference of sociologists and anthropologists. At the Third Conference of Sociology, Dr. Dube, one of the sectional presidents, made the following remark in his address at the beginning of 1958 :

"Our studies are often modelled on similar studies done elsewhere in the world and lack a coherent frame of reference relevant to the structure and organization of Indian society. While our descriptive categories are satisfactory, our analytical categories leave much to be desired. On the whole, the organization of such research on an India-wide basis lacks planning and we have not evinced enough interest in evolving or rigidly defining the criteria on which we select villages for community study. . . .We can explain our position by suggesting that initial efforts in any new direction are necessarily exploratory in nature or by emphasizing that our need for facts is so great that any type of study should be welcome."[3]

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[1] D.N. Majumdar, *Society in India*, (edited by Aiyappan and Bala Ratnam), Madras; Social Science Association, 1956, p. 146.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

[3] S.C. Dube, Presidential Address, Third Indian Sociology Conference, 1958, pp. 5-6.

The purpose of the study is to give a description of the village and to analyse the changes that are taking place in the village. The literature reviewed consists of those studies which describe villages and the process of change based on field studies in India.

Behind Mud Walls—This is a description of the village, Karimpur, in North India. The material presented in the book was first used for a Ph.D. thesis at Cornell University. The purpose of the study was " . . . to make a survey of the social, religious, and economic family life of a typical North Indian village."[4]

Wiser explained how he was accepted in the village as a friend after initial reverses. He then describes the various phases of the life of the village. "The Brahmins are absolute."[5] The village leaders seldom display their power, but they are secure in the knowledge that when necessary they could use it. Wiser refers to ". . . absoluteness of the power of leaders who combine in themselves the rights of high birth and economic power.[6]" He describes the followers as those content to go their own obstrusive way. There is an attitude of resignation among the lower castes which makes the village leaders sure of the loyalty of those who follow. Wiser also shows how the upper castes tended to stifle any attempt by the lower castes to get an education by withdrawing all their children when the children of the sweeper class joined the school. Further descriptions of the life of the villages of the family, of the younger generation, and of the "agents of authority" are given. The last part of the book is probably the most useful, for it is here that Wiser records the conversations of the villagers which explain their behaviour and attitudes. "In the interests of our own safety, we are prepared to treat all as self seekers."[7] "In fostering the development of a new order, whatever form it may take, we cannot cast off the old as useless."[8]

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[4] C.V. and W.H. Wiser, *Behind Mud Walls*, New York, Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1937.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

The new order the villagers look forward to is indicated by the villagers. They realise that changes are necessary but they want to be sure that the old, which has given them stability, will not be destroyed by the new. Unless this stability can be preserved in the new order, they would rather keep to the old even if they are characterized as not progressive.

Indian Village was the next book based on field study to appear after *Behind Mud Walls*. "What we need today is a series of studies of village communities from different parts of the country covering the many divergent patterns of organizations and ethos."[9] The study of a village in the state of Hyderabad is described in this book. The purpose, in the words of the author, is " . . . to give a clear and intimate picture of some aspects of life in one Indian village."[10] It is a descriptive study. The headings under which the description is made are : (1) Social Structure: caste system, inter-caste, as well as inter-village and intra-village relations; (2) Economic Structure: the occupations of the various castes, agriculture, cattle, non-agricultural occupations are discussed; (3) Ritual Structure : religious beliefs, festivals, rituals of life cycle, beliefs about after-death are the concern in this chapter; (4) In "The Web of Family Ties", the family structure is discussed, and inter-personal relations in the family; (5) Levels of Living : status differentiation based on religion and caste, and ownership, wealth, position in government service and village organization, age, and personality traits are discussed; (6) In the chapter entitled "Living Together", the facts dealt with are intra-personal relations, attitudes to caste, age, urban *vs.* rural.

The last chapter is entitled "The Changing Scene". The discussion here centres round the changes that are taking place. Among the various factors that were bringing about change were urban contacts, education, administrative reforms, government sponsored welfare activities, activities of political parties, and democratic elections. The changes occurring in the family system are growth of individualism, more frequent migration, diminishing regard for traditional principles. The caste, too, is no longer as rigid a structure, the very basis of the village

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9 S.C. Dube, *Indian Village*, Cornell University Press, 1955.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 15

council has been changed with the introduction of democratic elections. The abolition of the feudal system has been a big step in the direction of land reform. Many material changes including western medicine have been accepted. On the basis of the changes, the author makes the prediction "that given suitable conditions, the tempo of change would greatly increase.[11]"

Village India—Studies in the Little Community[12] is probably one of the most important books published in recent years on village India. The book is not concerned with change directly. "Indeed, the primary interest that brought about this volume is not the effort to understand India and her changes. It is the effort to understand how to seek understanding of any great civilization and its enormously complex changes through anthropological studies of villages."[13] One of the major focuses of the book is to answer the question: "To what extent can India's village communities be considered legitimate isolates for social science study and analysis?"

The question is answered by eight different people, based on their field studies. From these articles it will be clear that there can be no "yes" or "no" answer to the question. Even earlier, Opler had pointed out the extensions of an Indian village: the village is both an isolate and also a non-isolate. In the matter of services, where the village is self-sufficient, there are other factors, *e.g.*, marriage and occupations for which the villagers have to go beyond the village.

The villages studied were spread over different parts of the country. "The book conveys a general impression of great variety within a prevailing similarity."[14] The eight studies discussed are not similar and all of them do not answer the questions raised directly. In one instance the village is seen almost as an isolate. In another village, radical social changes are shown to indicate that the village ceases to be of a significant unit of investigation. One study is concerned with one caste in the village indicating that it is possible to study a sub-section of a village. The nearness of a city and its effect on the village

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[11] S.C. Dube, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
[12] M. Marriott, ed., *Village India*, University of Chicago Press, 1955.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. ix.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. vii.

is described in another study. One study discusses the formation of personality within a social structure. Two articles are concerned with comparisons, one with a tribal group and the village group and the other with a village of Mexico and a village of India.

The book is an attempt to answer the question, "How relevant are holistic methods of analysis for studies of villages in India ?" In studying the organising processes, social relations, leadership, political institutions and social changes, the articles clearly indicate that there are both internal and external forces. To understand the villages, both these forces need to be studied.

Village Life in North India [15] by Lewis is a study of a village near Delhi undertaken at the request of the Programme Evaluation Organization of Community Development while he was a consultant to the Ford Foundation. He was helped by six Indian students in his field work. As the study was undertaken at the request of the Community Development Programme, the major purpose of the research was to be able to use the findings as guides for an action programme. Lewis himself lists the objectives as follows: (1) To demonstrate the relevancy of the intimate understanding of village life and organization for the work of community development workers; (2) to obtain significant base line data in a village within a community project area prior to the start of an action programme so that the impact of the action may be studied; (3) to develop some research papers which would project modern field work techniques in cultural anthropology and sociology. [16]

The study is exploratory in nature. Lewis describes the social system of the village under headings: Caste and Jajmani System, A Study of Factions, Marriage Cycle, Festival Cycle, Concepts of Religion and Ethics. Lewis indicates that there are extensions of the village for various purposes, *e.g.*, marriage marketing, thereby showing that the village is not a self-sufficient cohesive community. However, the major contribution of the book to the understanding of the social structure is the introduction of the concept of factions. Carl Taylor says, "Lewis' greatest contribution to an understanding of the social

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[15] O. Lewis, *Village Life in North India*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1958.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. vii.

structure or systems of human relationship within which the residents of Rampur village live and work, is the clear delineation of two dimensions of social structure, other than the village as a whole—'factions' which have even a smaller-than-caste social dimension. . ."[17]

"Factions are small cohesive groups within castes which are the focus of power and decision-making and contribute to the compartmentalization and segmented nature of the village organization."[18] When factions act as cohesive units, are self-sufficient as a ceremonial group, and are economically sufficient, then they could be said to be successful. He further characterizes them as kinship groupings.

From the viewpoint of change, factions are important because they are decision-making and leadership-generating groups. According to Lewis they provide : (1) readymade communication channels for community development workers ; (2) ready made cooperative groups ; (3) much closer representation of the people than is otherwise possible. Factions, according to Lewis, are "positive aspects for community development."[19] However, how effective an "agent of change" factions can be, is a matter of speculation.

A further contribution is an attempt at a comparative analysis of the village of Rampur and that of a Mexican village, Tepoztlan, of which Lewis had made a study earlier. The two purposes he had in making the comparison were : (1) "to contribute toward our general understanding of peasantry"[20] and (2) ". . . to illustrate the wide range of cultural forms possible under the rubric of peasant society, and thereby indicate the typology of peasantry."[21] He proceeds then to make comparisons on the basis of settlement pattern, land and economy and social organization. He indicates that while some similarity exists in the level of technology and economy, the difference in social organization, value systems, and personality are very great. No particular implications have been indicated.

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[17] Carl Taylor, "Book Review Section", *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 24, No. 1, (March, 1959), p. 64.

[18] O. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

India's Changing Villages [22] by Dube reports research which
was undertaken in two villages in North India for the purpose of
evaluating a programme in action. "The aim of this study was
to examine some of the important human factors involved in
externally induced and state directed programmes of economic
development and culture change in a technologically underdeve-
loped society." Very little of the social structure is described.
The Community Development Programme is described in great
detail. From the viewpoint of change, the chapters, "Response
to Change", and, "Cultural Factors in Change", are important.

Dube says that "nearly seventy per cent of the development
programme benefits went to the 'elite' group."[23] The motivations
which led people to accept the changes were : (1) economic
advantage and convenience ; (2) prestige of the individual family
kin-group, caste, and village ; (3) novelty of innovations ; (4)
compliance to the wishes of the government and village 'leaders'.
The obstacles were : (1) apathy of the people ; (2) suspicion
and distrust ; (3) lack of effective and adequate media of com-
munication ; (4) traditional and cultural factors.

Dube points out that the importance of cultural factors in
community development needs to be recognized. In an Indian
village, he suggests that any agency which wishes to bring about
change should take into consideration : (1) habits and taste,
(2) social practices and tradition, (3) beliefs regarding various
aspects of life, (4) social structure, and (5) attitudes and values.
He further says, "The vital cultural linkages existing between
different aspects of life in different communities almost imme-
diately carry the effects of innovation to other than the one in
which the change was introduced."[24]

Apart from the books, there have been a number of articles
written in recent years based on field studies. However, only
two have been reviewed here as directly related to the problem
of change.

"Social Change in an Indian Village"[25] is a study of the

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[22] S.C. Dube, *India's Changing Villages*, Cornell University Press, 1958.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[25] M. Marriott, "Social Change in an Indian Village", *Economic Deve-
lopment and Cultural Change*, Vol. 1, No. 2, June, 1952, pp. 145-55.

village, Paril, in U.P., North India. The summary by the authors is comprehensive and gives a good idea of the changes and hence is being quoted in *toto*.

"From contrasting Paril society of thirty years ago with that of the present, it is apparent that the alterations induced in social structure during the intervening period have indeed produced a variety of effects, structural and otherwise. Detailed analysis of process suggests a number of ways in which parts of this social structure have influenced other parts and ways in which changes in parts of this structure have affected other social behaviour. (*a*) Dissensions and competition in ranking are increased by broader distribution of power, by a fluid and complex pattern of solidary relationships and by a widening of group relations outside the village. (*b*) Loss of distinctive kingroup culture is hastened by competition for rank. (*c*) Legal conflict and the formation of factions increase with alteration of local power groups, with complexity of social structure, with failure of caste councils, and with integration of local political structures into wider grouping of powers. (*d*) Caste councils pass away when they are disrupted by reorganization of power and by competition for rank within themselves. (*e*) The new village association's effectiveness is hampered by the complexity of social structure and by the shift of power and competition for higher rank."[26]

There is not enough similar material in this study to either agree or disagree with these conclusions. They are presented to indicate the type of changes that are being studied.

"Economic, Political, and Social Change in a Village in North-Central India" is another article which deals directly with the topic of change.[27] Dube, Marriott, Opler, and Singh, all of whom deal with changes in India, make the point that the general belief that the village is stagnant or static is rather naive. The present article under review studies almost every detail of the village and indicates that changes are taking place in population

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[26] M. Marriott, *op. cit.*, p. 55

[27] M. E. Opler and R. D. Singh, "Economical, Political and Social Change in a Village in North-Central India, *Human Organization*, Vol. II, No. 2, Summer, 1952, pp. 5-12.

trends, mobility, modes of transportation, agricultural tools, farming methods, diet, stimulants (more tea is being consumed), processing of food, domestic animals, houses, household equipment, utensils, shopping habits, dress, communication, recreation, education, land ownership and use, wages and work conditions, family relations, group relations, social mobility, and politics. It seems clear that the stimuli to change have operated on different levels—local, national, and even international.[28] The most useful from the point of view of this study is the remark, "It is our impression that the most extensive and pervasive shifts have occurred in outlook and political and social relations rather than in the realm of technology, material possessions, and work habits." "The few metal plows, mechanical chaff cutters, improved sickles, and bicycles which have appeared in the village, while important, are perhaps more significant as tokens of things to come than as immediate practical assets. But the mass education of scheduled caste children, the introduction of coeducation, the tolerance of widow remarriage, the wresting of political power from the land owners and high caste groups by the artisans and lower castes are momentous changes that penetrate to the core of village life and indeed to that of Indian life. They speak of the end of an era and a reorganization of intellectual and social energy."[29]

Social change in the village may be stated as a fact. Though to the outside world the village seems stable and little altered, when one studies the village, tremendous upheavals become perceptible. Opler and Singh's observations are important because they contradict the generally held idea that material change precedes non-material change. In Indian villages the non-material seems to precede the material, validating Opler and Singh's idea.

Two other books that could have been included are *Social Change in Malabar*[30] and *Twice Born*.[31] The first is not of a specific village study but is a study of change in an area. There were not too many aspects on which comparison could be made

[28] M. E. Opler and R. D. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[30] M.S.A. Rao, *Social Change in Malabar*, India, Popular Book Depot, 1957.

[31] M. Carstairs, *Twice Born*, India University Press, 1958.

with one village of North India. The book *Twice Born* deals with personality formation among the upper castes. The method used (depth analysis) and the subject dealt with are not too relevant to the present study and for this reason they are not reviewed here.

Two other publications, *Rural Profiles*[32] and *Society in India,*[33] are collections of articles on aspects of village study. However, the subjects dealt with are very varied and there is no connecting link. Hence it is not possible to deal with them unless each article is discussed separately.

The literature reviewed has given a basis for the description of the village Sarangapur. The studies which dealt with changes have indicated the aspects that are changing and the agents of change.

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[32] D.N. Majumdar, ed., *Rural Profiles,* Lucknow, Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society, 1955.

[33] A. Aiyappan and L. K. Balaratnam, eds., *Society in India,* Madras, Book Centre (Social Science Association Publication), 1956.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

The village of Sarangapur, according to the people, was established about two hundred and fifty to three hundred years ago by a person named Ganesh Misra. He originally lived in another village, Dandpur, about a quarter of a mile away from the persent village. Earlier in this village there were no Muslims, but when they came they began keeping hens and they also ate meat. Ganesh Misra and other Brahmins found it difficult to continue to live in the village so he moved out to the present location and started a settlement. The name Sarangapur was given because this area was infested with peacocks. (Sarang in Hindi means peacock; sometimes it refers to other animals also.) The main part of the village consists largely of Brahmins and belongs mostly to the sub-caste *Misra*. All the Misras of the village are descendents of the original settler.

The village is situated at a distance of five miles from Allahabad on the Allahabad-Rewa Road. (National Highway 27). It is in Arail Pargana Karchana "Tehsil" (sub-district). The district is Allahabad of Uttar Pradesh State.

The village is divided into five sections. One is the main part and the other four are hamlets which are located at distances of up to one-quarter of a mile away. Hamlets can be defined as sub-sections of a village, usually having one caste, and located at a short distance from the main village (usually less than a mile) and related to the main village in matters having to do with revenue, organisation, and social activities.

As one travels from the Agricultural Institute, the first hamlet that is part of the village is located to the north-west of the main village about a quarter of a mile away from it. This hamlet is called Kasimabad. The name was given to the hamlet by the accountant of the landlord of Dandpur, who wanted to perpetuate his own name. He called this section "Kasimabad" in his books and the name has been used for about sixty or seventy years. This was the original dwelling of Ganesh Misra.

In this hamlet there are mostly Muslims and a few scheduled caste people. The keeping of hens and eating meet was not an aversion to these scheduled caste people so they continued to stay on. There are about eighteen houses in the hamlet, two are partial brick structures and the rest are all mud structures. The scheduled caste people here are sweepers and hence reside on the outskirts.

The main village is to the east of the Rewa Road. There are thirty houses of which twenty-five belong to the Brahmins. There is one Muslim family, one potter, and three milkmens' families. There is no main lane in the village. The village houses seem to have been built in haphazard order. This gives the village a very congested look. About half a dozen houses are large and spacious. Only three houses are partially built of bricks, the rest of them being built of mud dug from a pit which is found close to the entrance of the village. Except for one or two spots, the village is fairly clean. During the monsoon season it is very difficult to move about in the village because it gets very muddy and water collects in many places, particularly in the lanes which are in low lying areas.

☐ Chamrauti

☐ Pasiana

☐ Main Village

☐ Kasimabad   ☐ Chak pura ka kala

About a quarter of a mile to the north-east of the village is located the hamlet where *chamars* (cobblers) live, hence it is called Chamrauti. It has nine houses. To the south-east is located the Pasiana, having six houses, where *pasis* (pig keepers) live. Both of these groups are labourers for the upper caste groups and their dwellings are clearly indicative of their poverty.

Further south-west about one quarter of a mile from the main village is located another hamlet, Chak pura ka kala. This was obviously not a part of the main village to begin with, but has been included in the village of Sarangapur for purposes

of revenue and census.   People in this section do not seem to have much sense of unity or belonging with the people of the main village.   Mostly *kunbis* (farmers) stay in this section. There are about twelve houses in this hamlet, all of mud construction.

The seasons are clearly divided.   From July to September is the monsoon and the average rainfall is between thirty and forty inches. In October the winter starts and lasts until March. The temperature variation during this period is between 35° F. to 85° F. It is summer from March to June and the temperatures vary from about 70° F. to 115° F., in extreme cases going up to 120° F.   The hottest period is between May 15th and June 15th when normal day temperature is from 105° F to 110° F.

According to the census report of the 1951, the population of the village was 485.   However, when this study was made the population was 517. Actually, this is somewhat less than the total population since some heads of households were not available for interview.   The total number of males was 252, and females, 265. The ratio of females to males was slightly in favour of females. Fifty-one per cent of the total population was female while forty-nine per cent was male.

In Table 7 is given an age analysis of the population.   Those below five years of age account for sixteen per cent of the population.   Twenty-six per cent of the population was in the six to fifteen years age group.   This is generally considered the school going age.   Twenty-five per cent of this age group are in school. When this figure is analysed further on the basis of sex, it was found that forty-two per cent of the boys in this age group are in school, whereas none of the girls go to school.   In the age group of sixteen to twenty-five are found twenty-one per cent of the population.   Among the males in this age group eleven per cent are in school, six per cent being in college and the others in high school.   The age group twenty-six to thirty-five accounts for fifteen per cent of the population, the thirty-six to forty-five age group for six per cent of the population, and sixteen per cent of the population is over forty-six years of age.   The number of women over forty-six years is greater than that of the men. This is due to some men working outside the village and, in some cases, women of the village who had become widows coming

back to stay in the village. The number of females in the sixteen to twenty-five age group is small compared to men. This is the age at which most girls marry and go to their husbands' villages.

Table 7 : Population Distribution by Age and
Attendance at School

Population Age				Percent-	Number in School	
	Male	Female	Total	age	Male	Female
Below 5 years	42	40	82	16	1	...
6-15	64	71	135	26	27	...
16-25	61	46	107	21	7	...
26-35	37	40	77	15	...	...
36-45	16	17	33	6	...	...
46 and over	32	51	83	16	...	...
Total	252	265	517	100	38	...

There were seventy-five dwelling places and seventy-seven families. Among the Hindus there were ten castes ; they have already been described in Chapter II. The largest caste group was that of the Brahmins, the second largest was that of the scheduled castes. Muslims formed about twenty per cent of the population and castes designated "B" accounted for another twenty per cent of the population.

There are two growing seasons in Sarangapur. In the *kharif* (rainy) season, the main crops that are grown are *paddy* (rice), *jowar* (grain sorghum), *urad* (a pulse), and *bajra* (millet.) "Mixed cropping", which refers to the practice of planting more than one crop at the same time in the same field, is followed in this village. The villagers justify this practice on the grounds that if one of the crops fails, others may not. However, when *paddy* is grown there is no mixed cropping. With *jowar*, pulses such as *moong* or *urad*, *sesamum* and *arhar* (pigeon pea) are grown. With *bajra* (millet), are grown *urad* (pulse), *moong*, *sesamum*, *sawa* (small millet), *kakun* (millet), and *mot* (pulse).

Farmers are entirely dependent on the rain for the supply of water for their crops. There are no irrigation facilities. In the 1957 season, there was little rain which resulted in complete crop failure. In 1958, the rains were more bountiful and the yields were fairly good. The yield in *paddy* was about ten to twelve *maunds* per acre[1], the variation being from six to eighteen *maunds*. The yield in *jowar* was about twelve *maunds,* and in *bajra* it was about ten *maunds* per acre.

The main *rabi* (winter) crops are *gram* (grain), wheat, barley, and peas. Except in the case of peas, mixed cropping is followed in this season as well. The crops mixed are linseed (flax), mustard, and *sehuva* (millet). In the winter of 1957-1958, the yield of *gram* was fifteen *maunds* per acre ; barley, from ten to twelve *maunds ;* and peas, from thirteen to fifteen *maunds*. The wheat crop failed because there was no winter rain. Generally, the crops are grown for personal consumption. Only a little of the crops is sold to get cash so as to be able to pay taxes and some other necessities. The pulses are the most generally sold crops for obtaining cash.

It was said that sugar cane, cotton, and peanuts were grown in the early stages of the settlement, but none of these are grown at present. The older people who remembered it said that they were discontinued because they did not bring in enough profit.

In the last seven or eight years people have begun to grow vegetables in their courtyards, such as potatoes, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, turnips, cauliflower, cabbage, tomatoes, chili peppers, and various types of gourds.

The total area under cultivation in the village is about two hundred acres. The pasture area is about seven acres. Water tanks take up about nine acres and the residential area of the main village consists of eight acres.

The villagers of Sarangapur own land in some of the nearby villages as well and so they have to pay taxes in those villages. The figures of the amounts paid by the villagers as land tax are as follows :

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[1] These figures are based on replies of a number of village people. One *maund* is equal to eighty-two pounds.

For lands in Sarangapur	Rs.	1,358[2]
For lands in Chak pura ka kala		100
For lands in Dandpur		95
For lands in Bhandra		25
For lands which people of		
Chak pura ka kala own		847
Total	*Rs.*	*2,415*[3]

The rate of tax on the land is not uniform. The land near the village is taxed more than that for pasture and water tanks, so it is not possible to indicate the average tax per acre of land.

There are nine wells in the village. In the main section of the village there are six, all of which are either brick or cement structures. In Chamrauti and Kasimabad hamlets, there is one each. Pasiana has no well and its women go to the main village to get water. Chak pura ka kala had only one well when the study was started, but another well was constructed during the study.

There are four temples in the village. One is said to have been built by the first settler of the village, Ganesh Misra. The others are more recent. Each of them is dedicated to a different god.

In Kasimabad there is a mosque which is about one hundred years old.

In none of the other hamlets are there any temples, but there are worship shrines under trees. The *Chamars* worship *Mussoriaya Devi* and the *Pasis, Kali Devi.* In the main village, too, there are three shrines for *Brahmdev, Mahadev,* and *Sitala Devi.*

There is a grain shop in the village maintained by a resident of the village. He acts as a middleman, buying grain from different villages and selling it in the city. He also has sweets, tea, country cigarettes (*bidis*) and betel leaves and nuts.

During the last two years, two other shops which sell betel leaves and nuts and cigarettes have been opened. The passersby are greater sources of revenue than the villagers. There is another person who keeps such a shop open periodically, but he closes it during the heavy agricultural work period.

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[2] One rupee is equal to about twenty-one cents. (a dollar is equal to Rs. 4.71)

[3] The figures were obtained from the *Amin* (the agent from the tax collector's office).

A Muslim tailor resides in the village.

A flour mill was opened about five years ago. The owner does not stay in the village.

There is a bicycle repair shop. The owner lives in a village about three miles away.

There is not a single government agency located in the village. The places to which the people must go for schooling, medical aid, and other services not provided for in the village are described in the chapter on village extensions. The village people do not particularly feel that they lack facilities. Within a five mile radius they are able to get most of what they want. A large number of the village people possess bicycles and a distance of five miles is not considered great.

CHAPTER V

OCCUPATIONS

Particular occupations are associated with particular castes. In this chapter, the occupations followed by the specific castes are discussed to indicate the deviation or conformity to the traditional occupations. Four factors relating to occupation are dealt with. The first is concerned with the present chief occupation which was defined as "that occupation from which the major source of the livelihood is earned". The second deals with the subsidiary occupation, defined as "any additional occupation to the chief occupation which contributes toward the livelihood". The third factor deals with the relationship between the chief and subsidiary occupations and the traditional caste occupation as conceived by the villagers themselves. The fourth one deals with "job preference". A list of ten occupations was made and the interviewees were asked which would be their first choices if the salary was equal in all of these occupations.

CHIEF OCCUPATIONS

The chief occupation in the village is farming ; forty-seven per cent of all villagers listed farming as their main occupation. The next most important chief occupation was "others" which included basket making, barbering, shop keeping, pottery, tailoring, frying grain, driving horse drawn vehicles(ekkas), and selling milk. Agricultural labour (landless labourers) accounted for fourteen per cent of the population. Nine per cent were engaged in "service". This refers to employment in government, railways, factories, etc. In the area where the village is located, *bidi* making is a fairly large industry. *Bidi* is an indigenous form of cigarette (made by filling tobacco leaves with tobacco powder). However, in this village only three per cent of the population was engaged in it. Among the A and B groups there were some students. These were in college or high school. Five per cent of the population was unemployed.

When a caste-wise analysis is made, we find that the chief occupation for the majority of the Brahmins is farming. In the B group there is a distribution among all occupations. Since a

number of artisans were included in this group, the "other occupations" category has a rather high representation. None of the Brahmins have any of the occupations listed under "other" occupation as most of them are not considered to be "dignified" by them. Among the Muslims, the largest percentage was engaged in "other occupations". More particularly, they engaged in driving horse drawn vehicles, barbering, and shop keeping. A large number of Muslims are in farming. They have the largest percentage of the unemployed.

Table 8 : Percentage Distribution of Population
by Occupation and by Caste

Chief Occupation	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Farming	74	36	11	39	47
Agricultural labour	...	9	56	...	14
Service	13	5	11	4	9
Bidi making	...	18	...	...	3
Other occupations	...	27	11	44	16
Students	13	5	...	...	6
Unemployed	...	...	11	13	5
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
N	52	22	28	23	125

SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS

In Table 9 are given the various types of subsidiary occupations that the villagers are engaged in.

Table 9 : Percentage Distribution of Population
by Subsidiary Occupation and by Caste

Subsidiary Occupation	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Farming	15	64	4	22	22
Shop keeping	8	...	...	4	4
Teacher	2	...	...	9	2
Priest	2	...	...	...	1
Tailoring	...	...	...	17	3
Service	13	...	14	4	12
Other Occupations	...	18	14	17	12
None	60	18	68	26	44
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
N	52	22	25	23	125

Of the total population, fifty per cent had subsidiary occupations. Farming is the most important subsidiary occupation. Among the Brahmins who were engaged in service, most of them had land so that farming was their subsidiary occupation. Among the "B", the chief occupations were mostly the "traditional" or some other service*, but almost all of them had some land of their own (usually a very small holding) and engaged in farming. Among the C group, some of the agricultural labourers secured various jobs in summer when there was little to be done in the fields.

Under service and other occupations were the same as those listed under the chief occupations. However pig rearing and bicycle repairing are included among others in the subsidiary occupations.

It was of interest to note that some people who had regular work in factories, teachers for example, felt that these were their subsidiary occupations, while farming was their chief occupation. When questioned further the informants stated that land was their permanent asset and as such, even if they carried on agriculture through hired labourers, they felt farming was their major means of subsistence. They did not seem to feel too secure about the jobs they had.

Most of the "B" and "D" groups had subsidiary occupations. Among the A group forty per cent had some subsidiary occupation, whereas among the C group a little less than one-third (thirty-two per cent) had subsidiary occupations.

OCCUPATIONS AND CASTE

When the villagers were questioned as to whether their chief occupation was in keeping with their caste, ninety-six per cent said that it was in keeping with their caste, three per cent said no and one per cent did not know.

As for the subsidiary occupations, seventy-four per cent said that their subsidiary occupation was in keeping with their caste occupation, three per cent said no, whereas twenty-three per cent did not know. That a large number did not know was probably due to the fact that some of the occupations like bicycle repairing, factory work, *bidi* making, and tailoring are not related to

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*Refers to regular job in some agency like railroad on government.

any caste occupations. Hence, those engaged in such occupations could not respond to the question of the relationship between caste and occupation.

Among the Brahmins, only one officiated as priest, but he had land and considered farming his chief occupation. If both the chief and subsidiary occupations are considered, the Brahmins are seen to be entering more and more into various types of occupations, and have even begun keeping shops. In accepting farming as their chief occupation, they indicate a change. According to tradition, they are not supposed to work or plough in the field, but actually a great deal of the work, and at times ploughing, was being done by them. Among the other occupations that the Brahmins were engaged in were military service, work in factories, mills and railways, government seed store keeper, peon (office boy), teacher, and other jobs. They had the widest range of occupations, as compared to other caste groups.

The B group tended to keep to the traditional occupations such as selling milk, frying grain, farming, shop keeping. Among the C group, agricultural labour was the most dominant. It is difficult to indicate whether this is a change from the traditional occupations. For the chamars, leather work is the traditional occupation but none of them were engaged in it. From 1920 on, with the coming of large shoe factories, there has been a decline of the shoe-making trade as a cottage industry. Further, some of the chamars have deliberately given up handling hides because this was one factor which gave them low status. The *pasis* (pig keepers) did keep pigs though they listed it as a subsidiary occupation. A few worked in factories off and on.

Among the Muslims (D), the occupations were tailoring, driving horse drawn vehicles, and teaching. Since there is no traditional occupation for this group, no indication can be made as to change.

There seemed to be no reaction among the Brahmins to taking any job as long as it was not particularly associated with a lower caste. New jobs in factories, even as peons, did not seem to bother them. One of the Brahmins was found to operate a shop as a subsidiary occupation. When he was questioned about deviation from the traditional occupation

he said, "If you go to Allahabad, you will find Brahmins working in shoe shops." (The reference was to salesmen in big shoe stores.)

As the research study was coming to an end, the research assistant expressed interest in accepting a job as a night watchman but he was not allowed to by his father. The father thought that the job was not in keeping with dignity of the caste and the level of education of his son. They were in desperate need of cash. The son did not accept the job.

In the B group there was a tendency to keep to traditional occupations. In the C group, the tendency was to hold on to agricultural labour because they felt they had little chance of getting jobs elsewhere. The D group, too, seemed to have taken a pessimistic attitude concerning abilities to get other jobs.

JOB PREFERENCES

A number of occupations including farming, shop keeping, priesthood, shoe making, village level worker, carpenter, blacksmith, bricklayer, teaching, factory work, and "others" were listed. The respondents were asked to list their first three preferences if they were to get an equal income in all these jobs. Tables 10, a, b, and c, give an analysis of the choices that were made by people.

Table 10a: Percentage Distribution of Population
by First Preference of Job and by Caste

Job Preference	A	Caste B	Group C	D	Total
Farming	55	36	32	26	42
Shop keeping	6	18	4	9	8
Teaching	10	...	...	13	7
Factory work	5	9	11	...	6
Village level worker	8	5	...	9	6
Others	8	...	14	9	7
Any suitable job	2	18	18	17	11
Too old to choose	6	14	...	17	8
No response	...	...	21	...	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	23	28	22	125

Table 10b: Percentage Distribution of Population
by Second Preference of Job and by Caste

| Job Preference | Caste | Group | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total
Farming	11	27	11	9	14
Shop keeping	15	14	4	13	12
Factory work	15	...	21	9	13
Village level worker	14	...	...	9	7
Priesthood	10	...	...	...	4
Teaching	12	...	...	9	6
Others	2	...	7	...	2
No response	21	59	57	51	42
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
N	52	22	28	23	125

Table 10c: Percentage Distribution of Population
by Third Preference of Job and by Caste

| Job Preference | Caste | Group | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total
Shop keeping	23	...	4	17	13
Factory work	8	14	7	18	10
Teaching	12	5	...	...	6
Village level worker	8	9	...	...	5
Farming	6	...	4	4	4
Others	2	9	7	4	5
No responce	42	63	78	57	57
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
N	52	22	28	23	125

It is of interest to note that none of the artisan occupations,
i.e., carpentary, blacksmithy, bricklaying—were chosen as first
preference (Table 10a). Forty-two per cent wanted to be in agri-
culture. The villagers seemed to derive a sense of security in
possessing some land. The next choice was "any suitable job".
Groups B, C, and D were more predominant in this choice
than the Brahmins. No indication was given as to what "suita-
bility" was. This suggests that a larger number of people in
the B, C, and D groups were not as definite about what they
wanted to do as the Brahmins. Eight per cent of the population

preferred shop keeping. The reason given was that this was considered a relatively easy and leisurely job with the opportunity to meet many people. Only the Brahmins and Muslims indicated interest in teaching. This was probably due to the fact that some of the Brahmins and Muslims were already teachers. Six per cent said that they would like to be village level workers because this would mean a service to the country as well as a means of earning. Eight per cent of the population said that they were too old now to make a choice; the majority of these people were over fifty years of age.

Table 10b shows second preferences and the choices are found to be very similar to the first preferences. Agriculture is chosen by the largest number, followed by factory work, shop keeping, teaching and priesthood. The percentages of people who failed to respond were: fifty-nine in B group, fifty-seven in C group, and fifty-two in D group and twenty-one among the A group. This further cofirms the point made earlier that group A seemed to be more definite about the jobs they wanted to get into as compared to the other three groups.

The third preference is analysed in Table 10c. Shop keeping topped the list with work in factory, teaching, and village level worker following. Among "others", some in group C indicated shoe making as a choice, the reason being that this was their traditional occupation. Fifty-seven per cent of the total population did not respond. Here again, the percentage of "no response" was lower among the Brahmins than among other groups.

<div align="center">SUMMARY</div>

A little over sixty per cent of the population were engaged in agriculture, farming and agricultural labour. The next category was that of "others" which included shop keeping, barbering, driving horse drawn vehicles. Quite a few (eleven per cent) had outside jobs. Some were students. A few were unemployed.

More than half the population had subsidiary occupations. Almost all who did not list agriculture as their chief occupation listed agriculture as their subsidiary occupation. Group B had the largest percentage of people engaged in subsidiary occupations, followed by D, A, and C groups in that order.

Very few considered their occupations, chief or subsidiary, as not in keeping with their caste tradition. The greatest change was apparent among Brahmins.

Among job preferences, agriculture was the most dominant, followed by shop keeping and work in factory. Groups B, C, and D were not as definite as the Brahmins in their choices.

An analysis by age grouping and occupation is not given because there was no indication of difference between the younger and older generations. There were many of the older generation who were working outside the village as well as in those occupations which were not traditional to the caste to which they belonged.

The data indicate that only the middle range castes tend to conform to their traditional occupations. Among the Brahmins, the range of occupations is wide. Only one of them continues to be a priest, their traditional occupation. Many of them have become farmers and actually work in the fields. This is a major change. Earlier, they could have owned land and hired labourers to work, but they were not supposed to touch the plough. Attitudes regarding these factors have definitely changed among the Brahmins of Sarangapur. The lower castes, while indicating some interest in obtaining occupations with a higher status, did not feel that they would be provided the opportunity to do so.

CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY

The family is one of the most stable social institutions in India. It is assumed that the traditional pattern of the family in rural areas is the joint family system; however, there is little empirical data to support this assumption. It is also assumed that the traditional pattern of the family is changing. It is difficult to measure changes as there is little base line material with which to make comparisons.

In this chapter various aspects of the family are presented. The purpose is to describe the characteristics of the rural families as well as to provide a base line for studying changes at a later stage.

Of the 125 people in the sample, sixty-two per cent were heads of the household and thirty-eight per cent were not. A larger per cent among the Brahmins were not heads as compared to the other groups.

NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN THE HOUSE

Each head of the household was asked how many families lived in his house. If the respondent was married and if his wife was living with him, for purposes of this study they were supposed to constitute a family, regardless of whether they had children or not. Table 11 shows the distribution of the population by the number of families in each household and by caste.

Table 11 : Percentage Distribution of Population
(Heads of Households) by Number of
Families in a House and by Caste

Number of Families	Caste Group				Total
	A	B	C	D	
1	30	60	62	67	53
2	35	27	24	17	26
3	30	6	14	...	14
4	5	7	...	5	4
5	...	...	...	11	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	23	15	21	18	77

More than half of the households (fifty-three per cent) had only one family; twenty-six per cent had two; fourteen per cent had three families; and three per cent had five families. Among the Brahmins, seventy per cent among the B group, thirty-nine per cent, among the C group, thirty-eight per cent, and among the Muslims thirty-four per cent, had more than one family living in one household.

Generally there seems to be a tendency among the upper castes to have a joint family, i.e., more than one family staying together in the same household. This is due to ownership of property and to some extent to the fact that the upper castes tend to observe their rituals more rigidly, the performance of which requires the presence of many of the members of the household.

In most cases, the families are linear,[1] but there were a few cases of collateral[2] families among the A, C, and D groups.

NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN THE FAMILY

Table 12 shows the number of members living in a house.

Table 12 : Percentage Distribution of the Heads of Households
by Number of Members Living in a
Household and by Caste

| Number of Members | Caste Group | | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total
1-2	4	6	...	22	8
3-4	22	47	5	28	23
5-6	9	27	57	22	29
7-8	13	7	24	11	14
9-10	26	...	14	...	12
11-12	4	6	...	...	3
13-14	9	...	...	...	2
15 and over	13	7	...	17	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	23	15	21	18	77

The question regarding the number of family members was

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[1] Linear refers to a family which consists of the families of father, son, and grandson, living together.

[2] Collateral refers to families of brothers living together.

asked only of the heads of the household. While sixty per cent of the households had less than six people in the house, forty per cent had more than seven members in the family. According to the census reports, the rural households have an average population of six and one-half.[3] In Sarangapur it is six and eight tenths. As is evident from the table, such an "average" does not give the true picture of the situation. The variation is from one to two members to over fifteen members ; however, the concentration is in the three to six category.

Among the Brahmins, sixty-five per cent had more than seven people in the family. The joint family is more predominant among them as was noted previously. Even if some members of the house worked in the surrounding areas, the tendency among them was to commute from the village itself, rather than to move to the place of work.

RELATIONS IN THE HOUSE

In Table 13 is given an analysis of the various relatives staying in each of the houses. This question also could be asked only

Table 13 : Percentage Distribution of the Relations
in a Household and by Caste

Relation	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Wife	83	80	100	89	9
Sons	74	76	81	67	74
Daughters	48	40	90	28	53
Daughters-in-law	30	13	10	33	25
Sons-in-law	...	...	5	...	1
Father	...	7	5	...	3
Grandparents	9	...	...	...	3
Grandchildren	26	20	14	28	22
Brother	34	20	14	5	20
Sister	4	...	5	6	4
Sister-in-law	26	...	5	5	13
Nephews and nieces	13	...	5	11	9
Mother-in-law	4	...	...	...	1
N	23	15	21	18	77

[3] Census Report, 1951.

of the heads. Since the A group had more families and a larger number of people in the house, it was to be expected that they have a larger number of relatives in their houses. Among the B group, comparatively speaking, fewer relatives were staying in their houses. A few in groups C and D had large numbers of different relatives staying with them. The generally prevailing system is patrilocal and hence the number of daughters-in-law staying in the village is more than sons-in-law.

NUMBER OF KITCHENS IN THE HOUSE

One of the trends in the joint family situation is said to be that the different family units no longer cook together. Each family unit has its own separate kitchen. It was to test the accuracy of this observation that a question regarding the number of kitchens in the house was included. The question is also important because one of the criteria for determining the joint family is supposed to be that of a single kitchen. There was one kitchen in the case of eighty-four per cent of the households. Only sixteen per cent had more than one. However, it must be noted that in fifty-three per cent of the cases there was only one family so there could not be more than one kitchen there. This means that the rest (forty-seven per cent) of the households could have had more than one kitchen, but only sixteen had more than one kitchen. When a caste-wise analysis was made, it was found that seventeen per cent among A group, seven per cent among B, twenty-two among C, and eleven per cent among D group had more than one kitchen.

Of the sixteen per cent who had more than one kitchen, thirteen per cent attributed it to quarrel among women rather than to any specific advantage. Only three per cent said that each family could cook according to its own desires.

SHARING OF INCOME

Another characteristic of the joint family is the pooling of income. The question as to whether income was shared by all the members and whether they thought it was a good idea to pool all the income was asked of the heads of the households.

In forty-four per cent of the cases, the income was shared and in nine per cent it was not shared. Forty-seven per cent did not respond to this question, as there was only one earning person in the family.

In response to the question of whether pooling of income was good, seventy-eight per cent replied in the affirmative, sixteen per cent in the negative, and six per cent did not respond. Analysed on the basis of caste it was found that in groups A, B, and C there seemed to be a greater tendency to feel that pooling of income was good, while fifty per cent of the D group felt it was not good.

Reasons given as to why pooling of income was considered good were as follows :

1. It is more economical.
2. Costly things can be purchased.
3. Support of each other is an asset in difficult times.

Those who felt that pooling was not good indicated the following reasons :

1. One cannot spend according to one's wishes.
2. If the income was pooled, everybody did not recognise one's own responsibility.

Table 14: Percentage Distribution of Population (Heads)
by Pooling of Income and by Caste

| Pooling of Income | Caste Group | | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total
Yes	78	33	43	11	44
No	13	...	9	11	9
No response	9	67	48	78	47
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	23	15	21	18	125

Table 15: Percentage Distribution of Population
(Heads of Households) by Attitude Towards
Pooling of Income and by Caste

| Attitude Towards Pooling | Caste Group | | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total
Good	86	93	81	50	78
Bad	9	...	14	39	15
No response	5	7	5	11	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	23	15	21	18	125

FAMILY AUTHORITY

The next question dealt with the type of authority preferred in the family. Three choices were given. These were :

(*a*) The members of the first family work seperately but live together. There is no one person to order or control family behaviour.

(*b*) The second family, though they work together, select one suitable member of the family to control them. It is not necessarily the elder member of the family who governs the activity of the family.

(*c*) The third family believes in the controlling power of elder member of the family.

The respondents were asked to indicate which one of these three types they preferred, and to give reasons for their choice.

The largest number of people (fifty-four per cent) preferred to have a person who was a capable person to control the family; thirty-seven per cent preferred to have the elder member

Table 16: Percentage Distribution of Population according to Type of Family Authority Preferred and by Caste

Type of Authority	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Type "a"	6	9	7	...	6
Type "b"	71	49	21	61	54
Type "c"	21	36	65	39	36
No response	2	5	7	...	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

Table 17: Percentage Distribution of Population by Preference, for Type of Family Authority and by Age

Family Authority	Below 30 Years	31 Years or More	Total
Type "a"	10	2	6
Type "b"	62	47	54
Type "c"	23	49	36
Total	95	98	96
N	58	67	125

of the family be the authority; and six per cent wanted no one to
be the authority. Four per cent did not indicate any preference.

When the reactions among the various caste groups were
compared, a larger percentage among the Brahmins and Mus-
lims preferred the "b" type of family authority. A large per-
centage among the "C" group preferred that the eldest member
control the family. In the "B" group, the opinion was divided.

Traditionally, the family authority is said to rest in the
hands of the elder member of the family. The lower caste
group preferred that this type of traditional arrangement should
continue. More than two-thirds among the A group (seventy-one
per cent), about half in the B group (forty-nine per cent), and
sixty-one per cent among Muslims preferred that the authority
rest in the hands of a suitable member selected to guide the
affairs of the family. Obviously the people had not gotten away
from the idea of some authoritarian pattern according to which
family affairs were managed. Only six per cent felt that the "a"
type of family, in which everybody manages his own affairs, is
to be preferred.

The reasons given for the respective choices were as follows :
For type "a"

    1. Everyone can work according to one's wishes.
For type "b"

    1. Able person can lead the family to prosperity.
    2. Ability is necessary to control a family.
    3. Work will be planned properly.
    4. Older people cannot think and work.
    5. Young people are more active.
    6. Only the young people can raise the level of living.
For type "c"

    1. Older people have experience.
    2. Old age must be respected.
    3. Older persons can control better.

Opinion on this qestion was analysed according to age as
well. Nearly half (forty-nine per cent) of those who were over
thirty-one years of age indicated their preference for a situation
where the older people would handle the household affairs. On
the other hand, sixty-two per cent of the people below thirty years
preferred "b" type of family, which would allow an able person
to conduct the affairs of the family. It is also of interest to note

that ten per cent among the younger people said they would like
a family situation where there was no defined authority.

This is one of the aspects in which a marked difference was
noted between the younger and older generations.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN

A question as to whether they preferred many children or a
few children was asked. Table 18 gives an analysis of the atti-
tudes of people toward the number of children they preferred to
have.

Table 18:   Percentage Distribution according to the Attitude
Regarding Number of Children and by Caste

Number of Children	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Many children	11	27	14	26	18
Few children	87	73	86	70	81
No response	2	...	...	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

No specific number was indicated as to what constituted
many children. Eighty-one per cent of the population wanted
few children, whereas only eighteen per cent thought it good to
have many children. The general feeling among people is that
villagers like to have many children. It is usually thought, also,
that the rural families are larger than urban families, but there is
no data to support these views. The present findings indicate
that whether rural people have a large family or not, they prefer
a small number of children.

There is not too much difference in the various caste groups
on this point. A slightly higher percentage among Brahmins
than among the B group and Muslims preferred to have fewer
children. The reasons for wanting fewer children (arranged
according to the number of mentions in the descending order)
were as follows :

1. Can provide well (food, clothing)
2. Can educate them

3. Healthier children
4. Good for mother's health

Those who wanted many children gave the following reasons:

1. God's gift
2. It is nice to have many children
3. Help in old age
4. Help in trouble (has reference to physical security)
5. To earn money

AGE MARRIAGE

The next three questions dealt with age of marriage. The first question was : "At what age were you married ?" The second and third questions elicited information regarding the villagers' opinions as to the age at which boys and girls should be married.

Table 19 : Percentage Distribution of Population
by Age at Marriage and by Caste

Age at Marriage	Caste Group				Total
	A	B	C	D	
Below 5 years old	2	13	21	...	8
6-10	19	32	39	13	24
11-12	13	...	7	13	10
13-15	33	14	7	22	22
16-18	13	18	7	39	18
19 and over	4	...	...	9	3
No response	4	18	14	...	8
Not married	12	5	4	4	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

Among the Muslims, only thirteen per cent had married before ten years of age and among the Brahmins, twenty-one per cent. Among the B and C groups, the percentage was higher, being forty-five and sixty-one. None among the Muslims had married before the age of five, whereas, two per cent among the A group; fourteen per cent in the B group ; and twenty-one per cent among the C group were married before they were five years of age.

The data do not indicate any particular age at which the village people tend to marry. The only conclusion that can be made is that most village people are married by the time they are eighteen years of age.[4]

Those among the Brahmins who were not married were two students, both in college, and other young men who lived by themselves with no elderly relative to arrange for the marriage. One of them was twenty-five years old. Among the B group, the oldest unmarried person was thirty-five years old. He was rather an unsteady person, with no land and no regular job. Among the C group, the oldest unmarried person was eighteen, and among the Muslims, twenty-six years.

AGE OF MARRIAGE FOR GIRLS

Table 20 : Percentage Distribution according to Opinion
Regarding Age at Which Girls should
be Married and by Caste

Age at Marriage	Caste Group				Total
	A	B	C	D	
6-10 years	6	23	44	9	20
11-13	17	32	32	9	22
14-16	50	45	14	48	41
17-20	27	...	...	35	18
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

A large percentage among the C group (forty-four per cent) wanted girls to be married before they were ten years of age. This may partly be due to the fact that they themselves were married before they were ten years old. Further, thirty-two per cent in the C group wanted the girls to be married before they were twelve years old and fourteen per cent, between the ages of thirteen and sixteen. The B group also wanted all of the girls to be married before the girls were sixteen years old. Among the Brahmins, only twenty-three per cent wanted girls to be married before twelve years, fifty per cent when they were between thirteen and sixteen years, and twenty-seven per cent

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[4] The marriage referred to was the first ceremony, not the second which is usually called "*gauna*", and is the time when the marriage is consummated.

when they were between seventeen and twenty years. Among the Muslims, only seventeen per cent wanted girls to be married before they were twelve years, forty-eight per cent when the girls were between thirteen and sixteen years, and thirty-five per cent when they were between seventeen and twenty years.

It is possible that the Muslims indicated a higher age since they do not have two separate ceremonies—a marriage ritual at one time, and another for the consummation of the marriage. The question asked had reference to the first ceremony. The fact that many Brahmins indicated that girls should marry at a later age shows a change in attitude.

Most of the villagers had heard of the "Sharda Act"[5] but were not too clear as to the ages prescribed.

AGE OF MARRIAGE FOR BOYS

Table 21 gives data regarding the opinions of the people as to when the boys should be married. Generally speaking, the indications are that boys should marry at a higher age than the girls, whereas twenty per cent had felt that the girls should

Table 21 : Percentage Distribution according to Opinion
Regarding Age at Which Boys Should be
Married and by Caste

| Age at Marriage | Caste Group | | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total
6-10 years	2	14	28	...	9
11-13	4	9	25	...	9
14-16	10	41	29	18	21
17-20	52	32	18	52	41
21 and over	32	4	...	30	20
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
N	52	22	28	23	125

marry at between six and ten years of age, only eight per cent felt that the boys should marry at this age. While eighty-two per cent of the population felt that the girls should marry before

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[5] A law which forbids marriage before the age of sixteen for girls and eighteen for boys, according to the 1956 amendment. When passed first (in 1924), the ages were fourteen for girls and sixteen for boys.

they are sixteen years old, only thirty-six per cent felt that boys should marry before they are sixteen years old. In fact, sixty-one per cent felt that the boys should marry after their seventeenth year.

A caste-wise analysis indicated a fairly similar pattern regarding the opinion of the age at marriage for boys or for girls. A very high percentage among the A group (eighty-five per cent) and D group (eighty-three per cent) felt that the boys should marry after their seventeenth year, whereas among the B group, thirty-six per cent felt so, and in Group C only eighteen per cent expressed the same opinion. In the C group all wanted the boys to be married before twenty years of age, whereas a fairly large number among the Brahmins and Muslims, and a very low percentage among the B group, felt that the boys should marry after twenty-one years of age.

Of the total population almost eighty per cent were married before they were eighteen years of age. Sixty-one per cent said that the boys should be married after seventeen years of age. The change is most noticeable among the Brahmins and the Muslims.

SUMMARY

In the population interviewed, sixty-two per cent were heads of the family and thirty-eight per cent were not. More than fifty per cent of the houses had only one family, about twenty-five per cent had two families, and the rest had three to five families in their households. The number of people in houses varied between one and fourteen or more, however, the modal range was three to eight. The number of relatives living in a house was less among the B group as compared to other groups. Among the households where there was more than one person earning, the income was shared in most cases, particularly among the Brahmins. However, a little less than half the households had only one member earning in the house. More than three-quarters of the people felt that the pooling of income was good.

A little more than half the population felt that an able person should be selected to control the family affairs, whereas over one-third felt that the elder member of the family should be in charge.

The majority of the population wanted small number of children.

Most people wanted girls to be married before they were sixteen years of age but said that boys should be married after seventeen years of age. Brahmins and Muslims(A and D groups respectively) indicated that they would prefer both boys and girls to marry at a higher age than at the age preferences expressed by the B and C groups.

CHAPTER VII

ORGANISATIONS AND RITUALS

I. Organisations

In this chapter organisations, both formal and informal, are described. The major purpose in studying these organisations was to measure the extent of community feeling among the people of the village.

It could be said that the only organisation which could be called a community organisation is the *Panchayat* or village council. This is an elected official body. An act was passed in Uttar Pradesh in 1947 whereby the villagers were to have their own local self-government. There have been amendments to this law in 1952 and 1955. Both of these amendments are of a progressive nature as they have tried to make the functioning of the *Panchayats* more effective. The present organisations are based on the 1955 amendments. According to these amendments any village that has a population of more than two hundred and fifty people is entitled to have a panchayat of its own. The number of members varies from nine to thirty-one according to the population. The elections of the present panchayats were held in 1956. They have a term of three years.

The election for the *Panchayat* in Sarangapur was held in 1956. There were thirteen seats and since only thirteen people contested the elections, the election for Sarangapur was unanimous. There was a deliberate attempt by some of the people in Sarangapur to have a unanimous election. With this object in mind, some of the villagers got together and worked out a panel of names which was not opposed. This has the appearance of a "community" agreement but actually the panel was worked out by the "stronger group", or "faction", and it would have done little good for others to oppose it. It must, however, be said that the distribution among castes is quite fair, as is the representation among the two rival groups. The *Panchayat* consists of one member from B group, one member from C group, two from D group. There were attempts to get more

representatives from the B and C groups but the members themselves of the groups were disinterested. The major reason was that it would cost them money (Rs. 6) to file their nominations and they did not feel it was worth spending.

The panchayat has done little for the improvement of the village. One of the achievements, however, has been to get a mobile dispensary to stop at the village. The mobile dispensary is maintained by one of the semi-private hospitals at Allahabad and goes to certain villages every Friday. Since Sarangapur was on the established route, the *Panchayat* requested that it stop there also.

During the author's study of the village, only one meeting was held. The description given below is summarised from the author's field notes.

The meeting was called at 2 p.m. (11th February, 1958). Only five members were present at 2 p.m. There were also present the *panchayat* secretary, a government official who keeps records of the meeting, and the lekhpal (a minor official of the revenue department). Some of those present commented, "The low caste people will learn nothing. They can never keep to time." By about 2.30 p.m. two more members (both Brahmins) arrived, making the quorum (seven) and the meeting was started. By 3 p.m. all other members except one Muslim member had arrived.

Only two members were vocal. The group B and C representatives rarely spoke. Resolutions : (1) to build a road through the village and connect with the main road (National Highway 27) ; (2) to hold a meeting of the *panchayat* on the 11th of every month; (3) to set up a *rakshadal* (volunteer corps for the protection of the village) were passed. The third resolution was passed because there had been two cases of theft in the village and other cases in the surrounding villages.

The meeting seemed to have been called specifically to discuss a complaint made by one of the members of the panchayat against the person living opposite him. The neighbour was supported by another member of the *panchayat*. The complaint was that the "neighbour" had built a raised platform (chabutra) which prevented his cattle from going to their resting place, since they could not climb over the obstacle.

The defendant maintained that the land belonged to him and he had not prevented anybody from passing to and fro. The complainant held that the place had been used as a public road and had been accepted as such and hence nobody could build any structure.[1]

A committee of three members, one for the complainant's side, one for the defendant's side, and one neutral person was appointed to suggest a solution.

The meeting closed at about 4.15 p. m. No other meeting was held. In November the author said to the president, "The annual meeting of panchayat is supposed to be held in September and the report sent." The answer was, "we never worry about it. We will hold a meeting one of these days and back date it."

The ineffectiveness of the *panchayat* is due partly to villagers themselves, who do not try to make the best of what is possible, and partly due to the law which, while prescribing a large number of functions, does not provide sufficient funds or authority to the local body to function effectively.

Of the three resolutions passed, none had been put into effect. The committee appointed by the panchayat met and brought about a compromise, however, this did not last long. The sequence of events is discussed under "factions".

CASTE PANCHAYATS

There are no caste *Panchayats* among Brahmins and Muslims. The B and C groups have them. Their function is primarily "social control"; hence they will be described in the chapter on "social control".

BHAJAN MANDALI

This is a group which sings selegious songs. It is not a formally organised group, but met usually at the house of a person who is a teacher in a nearby village. The group, although in a sense spontaneous, met very regularly in the months of April and May. During the other months it met occasionally. The person in whose home the group met had two

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[1] The quarrel was a result of factional feelings, which will be discussed later.

musical instruments, an harmonium (a kind of hand organ) and a set of *tabla* (drums). There were two or three others also who had harmoniums and brought them along. There was also a *sitar* (a stringed instrument) and cymbals. The singing usually started around 8.30 p. m. and went on until about 12.30 p. m. or 1.00 a. m. Mostly the Brahmins were present.

Ram Lila

During the months of October or November one of the biggest festivals of the Hindus occurs, the *Dusserah* which is observed in celebration of the return of King Rama to his kingdom after a victorious fight against the demon, Ravana.

The festival is celebrated for a period of ten days. One aspect of the celebration is a drama that is enacted each night depicting the various episodes connected with the fight of King Rama with Ravana. Since the drama usually lasts for about four hours each night, a great deal of organization is required. This is actually an inter-village organization, the moving figure being a Brahmin from a neighbouring village. However, the people of Sarangapur also took an active part in organization and acting. The actors from all castes were drawn from about six villages but people came from great distances to witness it because it is reputedly one of the better organized performances in the area.

This, too, is an informal organization and active only during a particular period of the year.

Informal Groups

In none of the hamlets was there any indication of any "regular" informal group. The author spent many evenings in the village just to discover if such informal groups existed. In the main sections of the village some people did sit together in the evenings, particularly during the time when there was not too much work in the fields. About six to eight people got together in the tailor's shop and played cards for a couple of hours at noon.

Factions

Oscar Lewis in his study, *Group Dynamics in a North Indian Village*[2] brought to the fore the phenomenon of factions, which

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[2] Oscar Lewis, *Group Dynamics in a North Indian Village*, Government of India Publication, 1954.

he defined as "the existence of small cohesive groups within castes which are the locus of power and decision."

In Sarangapur, among the Brahmins, there were two factions based on kinship. The founder of the village had two sons and one of these sons had five sons and the other four. The division is between the descendants of those five and four children. In fact, the factions are known as *Panchbhiya* (five brothers) and *Charbhiya* (four brothers). Strong feeling seemed to have arisen due to property quarrels. During the early period of the study, factional feelings were not too strong, even though members of one faction did not eat with the members of the other faction or attend parties when members of the other faction were attending. The *Panchbhiya* faction had a larger membership and was economically better off. A large percentage of people in this faction had jobs outside the village and were comparatively better educated. This group could have dominated, but in the election of the *Panchayat* they gave place to two or three members of the other faction.

It must be noted that the factions did not cut right through the village. The groups B and C did not seem to have any particular affiliation. Even among the Brahmins quite a few tried not to associate with any particular faction. In consequence, the author had the impression the groups were not particularly "cohesive".

During the last stages of the study a situation arose which forced matters and tended to strengthen feelings within each faction. An open conflict had taken place. Further, the incident made it more or less necessary for all, among the Brahmins to align themselves with one group or the other. As one of them remarked, "It is no longer possible to be neutral".

Earlier it was mentioned that there was a complaint by one member of the *panchayat* (of the *Panchbhiya* faction) against a person who lived opposite to his house. (It may here be mentioned that the two factions were separated by a lane, one faction living on one side and the other living on the other side.) The committe appointed by the *panchayat* seemed to have brought about a satisfactory compromise. The defendant was allowed to build the raised platform, but leave enough space for a passage so that people and cattle could pass. However, they had not completely patched up matters.

One afternoon hot words were exchanged and the complainant[3] struck defendant with a *lathi* (a thick staff). Immediately feelings ran high. The defendant filed a suit against nine of the opposite party although only two were involved in the actual incident. Witnesses had to be secured and so it became necessary for everyone in this kinship group to align themselves decisively on one side or the other.

Even at this stage some of the elder people of the village tried to bring about an amicable settlement. They called three of the elderly and respected Brahmins from villages around. These were generally well respected and had some influence, although this was not based on any formal organisation. Both the groups had agreed to the meeting and to the arbitration; however, when the meeting was convened, none from the defendant group turned up to discuss the matter. This was not expected, since it represented a defiance of authority generally accepted in the caste.

The matter went to court. Each of the parties had spent more than Rs. 500[4] in going through the law courts. In December the lower courts gave their judgment in favour of the "defendant", imposing a sentence which confined three of the "complainants" to three months imprisonment. They appealed to the higher courts and that was where the matter rested at the end of the study period.

Leadership

The discussion of organisations, formal and informal, and of factions leads to the question of leadership.

The author, through observational impressions, obtained the feeling that there was no leadership in the village which could be considered effective. The president of the *panchayat* was too cautious a man and tended to be too much on the conservative side. He himself had made few changes. There were a few others who had some following but they were all petty[5] leaders and could not get action at the community level. Among the younger people, the research assistant could be considered one of the leaders. He had no following of his own, but due to his

[3] In the *panchayat* meeting.
[4] About $105.
[5] With small following.

education and work as a village level worker, he did have influence. Although he belonged to the "five brother" faction, he was quite friendly with the "four brother" faction and was accepted among them until the incident reported earlier occurred. He had then to align himself definitely with the "five brother" faction. Another reason for his acceptance was that he was a "functional"[6] leader, being good at games, music, singing, and drama.

There were some other "functional" leaders. In the *bhajan* group, one of the older persons who played the harmonium was generally accepted as a leader. For ceremonial purposes, another of the elder Brahmins who was also a member of the judicial *panchayat* was called upon. Both of these people belonged to the "five brothers" faction. No member of the other faction joined in these activities.

Among the "four brother" faction there was not even the limited leadership that seemed to be present in the "five brother" faction. In fact, neither of the factions acted as a cohesive group. The overall impression was that there was not a single leader or even a group who could get effective community action. The activities during the festival seemed to take place more due to traditional practices and to the fact that one person or the other felt certain things must be done. A few people got together and some traditional activities were undertaken. Such activities did not need sustained leadership and so it mattered little as to who took the lead. Leadership was accepted just for that particular activity.

In none of the hamlets was there any defined leadership pattern. When the author tried to get information regarding the person considered to be the leader in Chamrauti, one said, "There are nine houses here and nine leaders." This was a bit of exaggeration, but it did point up the fact that there was no one in particular who was accepted as a leader. However, the *panchayat* member from this caste did have some influence. He was the oldest resident, had about six acres of land (none of the others in the hamlet had any land), and his son was studying in college. But he, too, could not be said to be "powerful".

In the other hamlets, Pasiana and Chak pura ka kala, too, one person in each could be pointed to as a sort of spokesman

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[6] Performed the functions mentioned.

for the group, but neither could be described as "effective leaders."

In the hamlet of the Muslims there was no indication of any type of leadership. Actually they were in a state of "disorganization". Many had migrated to Pakistan. Some who had land had lost it due to land reform acts. Most of the younger people had left the village to go either to Pakistan or to other places. There was a sense of pessimism prevailing there. They seemed to feel that they were under suspicion and the government was not really interested in them. Under these circumstances there seemed to be little chance of a strong leadership emerging.

Hamlets

In describing the village, reference has been made to the phenomenon of hamlets. Sarangapur has four hamlets. As mentioned earlier, there is a tendency for each caste to have its own hamlet. The 1951 census report for the state of Uttar Pradesh reported that the establishment of hamlets by different castes, as far as possible near their own fields, is becoming an increasingly common phenomenon.

The effects of this movement on inter-caste relations and the sense of community has yet to be studied. The hamlets of Sarangapur have been there for a long time. The Kasimabad is older than the main village itself. The Chamrauti was established about eighty years ago, the Pasiana, about sixty years ago, and Chak pura ka kala about one hundred years ago.[7]

In Tables 22 and 23 is given an analysis of what people thought the population of the village was and what parts it included. These questions were included to try to "measure" the sense of community. It was felt that if most people had a rough idea of the population and indicated that all parts were included, then it could be said that there was a strong sense of community. However, only eighteen per cent of the population had an idea of the correct size of the population. Less than half the population included all sections of the village, in describing the village population.

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[7] The years of establishment have been based on responses of some older people of the village and the hamlets.

Table 22 : Percentage Distribution of Population According to What was Considered to be the Population of the Village and by Caste

Population	Caste Group				Total
	A	B	C	D	
Up to 150	8	24	14	35	17
151 to 300	36	40	50	9	35
301 to 450	27	27	14	17	22
451 to 600	25	5	11	22	18
601 and over	2	...	...	8	2
Don't know	2	4	11	9	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

Table 23 : Percentage Distribution of Population According to What Parts of the Village They Considered in the Village Population and by Caste

Parts of the Village Included	Caste Group				Total
	A	B	C	D	
All hamlets and main village	56	32	29	70	48
Main village only	15	...	18	9	12
Own hamlet and main village	10	27	21	17	17
Own hamlet only	4	41	4	4	10
Except Kasimabad and Chak pura ka kala	15	...	28	...	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

In the B Group, forty-one per cent considered only their own hamlet in thinking of the community. This was probably due to the fact that there is not too much "social relationship" either in an employer-employee sense or for rituals between the residents of the hamlet, Chak pura ka kala, and the main village. Most of the people in this hamlet belong to the B group.

The reason for a very high percentage of the D group including all sections of the village in describing is that they were aware that they were not a part of village which was

immediately adjoining to their dwelling places. This made them conscious of the village to which they belonged.

One of the criteria of "measuring" the sense of community feeling would be by, the number of community organisations and activities. Judged by these, there is little community feeling. Among the organisations, only the *panchayat* could be considered a "community organization".

There were three enterprises which the village tried to undertake as a community:

1. Build a road through the village.
2. Dig a tank just outside the village to hold rain water, particularly for cattle to drink.
3. Repair the temple built by the founder of the village.

None of these have been accomplished. Actually, except for the second, the others were confined to the main village. Some people dug for the tank for two days and then gave it up because the others were not coming forth to join them. For repairing the temple Rs. 200 were collected and are still being held, but it was collected only among the "five brother" faction.

The general feeling and impression that one gathers is that the sense of community is not strong at all.

Outside Jobs

Twenty-eight per cent of the people work outside the village. Those who work in Allahabad, or nearby factories, leave early in the morning (around 7.30 a. m.) and return about 5.00 p.m. The farmers are busy even after 5.00 p. m. and hence have little time for social interaction with other villagers.

Some of the people who have jobs in railways and the army spend relatively little time in the village, although their families stay in the village. Naturally, they do not have any strong ties with the village. All the people who work outside the village are able to escape the pressures of the community to conform.

Summary

A study of the organisations and other aspects made it evident that the sense of community in the village of Sarangapur was very weak. Four factors seemed to contribute to this situation:

1. Lack of effective leadership
2. The existence of factions
3. The existence of hamlets
4. A Large number of people working outside the village

The other factors that confirmed the point of view expressed were: one, less than half the population considered all parts of the village in defining the population; two, lack of any effective community organizations; three, lack of any community activity project and the failure of the community projects undertaken.

II. Rituals

Rituals are an important phase of rural life. It is during the performances of these rituals that the greatest social intercourse takes place. It is through invitees to the rituals that one can understand the operation of factional feelings and relations within and among castes.

Various rituals are performed during the life cycle. There is not too much difference among the rituals observed between the different castes but the way they are observed is different. The description of the death ceremonies of two different castes will give some idea of the differences.

Life Cycle Rituals			
A	B	C	D
1. Birth (6th day)	Birth (6th day)	Birth (6th day)	Birth
2. Eating solid food first time			
3. Mundan (first haircut)	Mundan	Mundan	Mundan
4. Kan Cheddan (earring)	—	—	Kan Cheddan or Circumcision (Khatua)
5. Jago pavit (thread ceremony)	—	—	
6. Marriage	Marriage	Marriage	Marriage
7. Death ceremonies	Death ceremonies	Death ceremonies	Death ceremonies

Among the Brahmins the first ceremonies are observed at the birth of a child. The next ceremony is held on the sixth day at which time the child is usually named. Another ceremony

is performed when the child eats solid food for the first time. The next ceremony is the cutting of hair regardless of whether the child is male or female. Among the Brahmins of this village, all the children were taken to some holy place outside Allahabad for the ceremony. Two places, particularly, were mentioned: Maihar (125 miles) and Vidyanath (about 40 miles). Piercing the ear is usually performed at the same time as that of *Mundan*. Previously the ears of both male and female children were pierced but now it is done for the females only. The ceremonies take place between the ages of three and five years.

The thread ceremony, exclusive to A group (refer to table on rituals), the wearing of sacred thread, take place when a boy is between the ages of seven and eleven years. There is no such ceremony for girls. It is after this ceremony that a boy is a confirmed Brahmin and is expected to adhere to the caste regulations rigidly.

There are many ceremonies connected with marriage, some coming before and others afterwards. These are connected with events such as the fixing of the date of marriage, arrival of the bridegroom's party at the house of the bride, of the bride after marriage at the bridegroom's place.

The ceremonies after death are performed by the surviving relatives. The intensity with which the various rituals are rigidly followed is dependent on the age of the person who is dead. If a child dies, the ceremonies are not so elaborate as when an aged person dies.

In the B group, the ceremonies of "eating for the first time", "piercing the ears", and "the thread ceremony", are not observed, except by the *vaishyas*. They also have another ceremony called *sagai* which is sort of engagement before the marriage.

Among the C group, birth, *Mundan*, marriage, and death ceremonies are observed. Both among the B and C groups, most people took their children to Allahabad for the hair cutting (Mundan) ceremony.

Among the Muslims, the birth ceremonies are observed. The hair cutting is done at home and it is usually at this time the child is named. The next ceremony is piercing the ear for girls and circumcision for the boys. It is usually performed at the

age of two or three. The marriage ceremony is the next among the Muslims.

There are not as many elaborate rituals to be followed among the Muslims for death as among the Hindus. There are, however, certain times of remembrance, as on the third day, and the anniversary.

The following description of two funeral ceremonies are elicited from the author's field notes.

A Brahmin woman died on March 13, 1958. She had a miscarriage on the 11th. She was not well on the 12th and on the same night she started vomiting blood. On the morning of the 13th she was taken to the hospital in Allahabad which is about eight miles away. She collapsed when she was being examined by the doctors. The woman was about twenty-three years of age.

The cremation took place on the banks of the Jamuna River which is about two miles away from the village. When the people (only males) returned from the cremation, they sat in silence facing the south for a little while on entering the village. Then they visited the house where death had occurred. In this house there was a pot and fire. Those visiting the house put their feet in the fire lightly and then in water and entered into the courtyard where they sat facing the south again. On the same day the younger brother of the husband went to a nearby garden and placed three earthern pots, two of which were filled with water. In the other a lamp was kept. The idea was that the dead person continues to hover around the area for ten days and the lamp and water are meant for the dead person. Every day, for nine days, the water was replenished and the lamp relit. This is to be done by the same person who lights the funeral pyre.

On the ninth day the Maha-brahmin (the priest who officiates at the death ceremonies) came. Rice was cooked and made into balls *(pindas)* and were "given" to the dead person after the recital of some religious verses. (The rice balls were prepared every day for nine days.) They are supposed to represent various limbs of the body and on the ninth day the body is said to be completed. The Maha-brahmin asked for money after he had chanted verses over the rice balls and

again when he broke the pots, now that they were no longer necessary for the dead person. (The ceremony took place in the garden where the pots had been placed.) Before breaking each pot some verses were chanted. After these ceremonies the relatives and those others in the village who wished to do so shaved their heads.

The first person to shave his head was the one who had been performing all the rituals. During the nine days he could have no contact with others ; he had to do his own cooking, sleep on the ground, and wear only *"dhoti"* (a long white cloth worn from hip down).

On the tenth day invitations were sent to those who ate *"kacha"* (food not cooked in clarified butter), *i. e.,* to relatives and members of the dead woman's faction in the village. Among the invitees were those whom the Brahmins call *Panch Praja* (five subjects) : carpenter, potter, barber, washerman, and sweeper, the people who perform various services. After the party, rice was cooked and given away as an offering for the peace of the dead person in the new life.

On the eleventh day the Maha-brahmin came again. Another sweet rice preparation, *kheer,* was made. This was eaten by the Maha-brahmin after charging fees for eating it. He was presented with a cot, a carpet, a *dhoti,* a *saree* and imitation ornaments worn by the dead person. All of the vessels used in cooking and some other new vessels were given to the priest. After the rituals, the priest sat on the cot and was offered Rs. 1.25 in lieu of a calf. (He was not too satisfied.) On the thirteenth day another party was given to all the villagers and other Brahmins of two or three nearby villages.

The amount spent for these ceremonies was about Rs. 200 —($40-$45).

A woman belonging to the *pasi* caste (C group) died. The body was cremated. On the ninth day the rituals were observed but there was no priest and the only ritual was shaving of heads by the barber. He also cut the nails of the women. (In the case of Brahmins no women were present for the ceremonies.) The next day people from the hamlet and others from nearby villages were invited. There was no other ceremony. The amount spent by the husband of the

dead woman was around Rs. 50 ($10), all of which he borrowed from a person in the main village.

The author was told that in the case of death of a villager's mother at the age of seventy, the son spent nearly Rs. 700 to 800 (about $150). As the author was not present during these ceremonies, the description is not given.

Festivals

Festivals in the Hindu tradition are numerous. They usually occur at the beginning and end of each season. There are some in which only women participate. There are some others which are more meaningful to particular castes, while there are others in which all castes participate.

No attempt is made here to present a systematic analysis of the role of festivals in the life of the rural people. It would require a complete study of the total cycle of the festival through the year. During the period of the field study, four festivals occurred. A description follows.

Holi : This is a festival that comes at the end of the *rabi* (winter) season harvest. The night before the day of the festival, there was a ceremony in the main village and also in Chamrauti. In the main village a fire was lit and the people circled the fire seven times and offered grains of the harvest to the fire. In Chamrauti there was no fire lit but people sit together and sang songs of a secular nature. None of the *chamars* knew the meaning of lighting the pyre ; some Brahmins knew it.

The legend which is associated with this festival is as follows: *Prahalad* was a devotee of God Vishnu, while his father worshipped another god. The father tried to make Prahalad abandon the worship of Vishnu. He made several attempts to kill his son, but did not succeed. One attempt was through his daughter, *Holika,* who was supposed to be immune to fire. She took Prahalad on her lap and the pyre was lit. It was expected that Prahalad would be burned to death, but it was Holika who was consumed by the fire. The moral of the legend was that the devotees of God cannot be destroyed.

The lighted pyre around which the songs are sung is symbolic of the fire which consumed Holika and the name of the festival comes from her.

The next day houses and temples were cleaned. Coloured

water, usually red, was thrown by the villagers at each other. In the main village, people gathered together about noon and went singing from house to house. At each of the houses the crowd was offered betel nuts and leaves *(pan)* and colour was smeared. Very much later in the evening the *chamars* and the *pasis* joined the group. This is one festival where the lower caste people join in and throw coloured water at the upper caste people, and no offence is taken. Nobody from Chak pura ka kala or Kasimabad came to Sarangapur to play *Holi, i.e.,* throw coloured water at each other.

No one in the village was able to explain why the coloured water was thrown. Only the priest had an explanation: "Throwing of red coloured water is symbolical of the fact that any one who tries to harm a true devotee of God will shed his own blood needlessly."[8] (Reference was to Holika being burnt while trying to burn *Prahalad.)*

Nag Pancham: This is a festival in which cobras are worshipped. Women leave milk where cobras are supposed to be living.

The functions were held in the evening. The women went with their old dolls (puppets) and threw them into the lake. Their brothers and small children beat the dolls with sticks until they were drowned. The women then distributed some grain to those who drowned the dolls.

None of the villagers knew the relationship between the drowning of the dolls and the festival.

The men organized themselves and had some sports. Only the people of the main section of the village participated in these games.

Rakshabandhan: Literally, this term means "protection band". The Rakshabandhan is primarily a Brahmin festival. The participation is on an individual or family basis. There is no community celebration. The sisters usually tie a *rakhi* (band) to their brothers and invoke their protection.

Lalai Chatta: This is a local festival, observed one day before another big festival, the Birth of Lord Krishna.

At a central place of the village, a hole is dug and a particular type of grass (khas) which is used in all ceremonial purposes

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[8] The author does not know what the throwing of coloured water symbolizes.

is planted. Worship takes place around it. The women dress themselves and worship by lighting a fire and offering dry fruits. Then they tie a knot in one of the grass plants and distribute to children fried rice and pop corn brought in small earthern vessels. The purpose of the ceremony is to pray for a male child or for protection of male children.

The women in whose family the death of a married person had occurred, did not dress up in bright sarees, but came in everyday clothes. All the women gave grain to one of the older women of the village who is respected by all the villagers. Later some of the older women narrated legends from Hindu mythology.

No women from other hamlets were present.

The festivals break the drudgery and the monotony of the routine of daily village life. Further, they are the times when there is increased social relationships. Most festivals are based on legends which attempt to draw the attention of people towards the spiritual aspects of life. Festivals thus, fulfil an important role in the life of rural people.

Summary

The rituals are occasions when members of one caste invite members of other castes to participate. Festivals provide opportunity for the mingling of the various castes. However, except during the *Holi* festival, the relations are distant and the necessary rules of behaviour are adhered to.

CHAPTER VIII

INTER-CASTE RELATIONS

The caste system is one of the more rigid forms of social stratification. It is generally assumed by most people that with the advent of industrialisation, the hold of the caste system is becoming much less rigid. There is, however, little empirical data on the situation. The present chapter discusses the prevailing relationship and the attitudes toward these relationships. Knowledge of existing inter-caste relations is essential for understanding the rural society as well as for starting a community development programme.

A generally accepted definition of the caste is given. Through this, it would be possible to indicate some of the features of the caste system, and make it easier to understand the data pertaining to inter-caste relations. Caste is defined as follows by Blunt:

> "An endogamous group, or collection of endogamous groups bearing a common name, membership of which is hereditary, arising from birth alone, imposing upon its members certain restrictions in the matter of social intercourse, either (1) a common traditional occupation or (2) claiming a common origin or (3) both following such an occupation and claiming such an origin and generally regarded as forming a single homogeneous community."[1]

From the definition and other descriptions, the following factors can be considered as the major features of caste system:

(a) Hereditary status
(b) Hereditary occupation
(c) Restrictions of food (with whom to eat and what to eat)
(d) Endogamous marriage
(e) Other social restrictions (visiting, borrowing, smoking, residence, etc.)

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[1] E. Blunt, *Caste System of Northern India*, Madras, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931, p. 5.

The caste system is essentially a feature of Hindu society. However, the influence of the system is apparent among Muslims and Christians as well. In Sarangapur there was hardly any evidence of a "caste" among Muslims.

Next to the family, the caste system is the most important social institution. Caste is a dominating and a determining factor in many aspects of the life of the village. The influence of caste on occupations and organizations has already been discussed. Other areas where the social relationships are more direct are discussed in this chapter.

Invitees

A question was asked as to whom they would invite if there was a ceremony in their house.

The Brahmins said that they would invite all their relatives, however far they lived. They would also invite the members of their own caste from nearby villages (within a four to five mile radius). The invitations would be restricted to their own sub-caste and to those who had not participated in any function or a party of any members of an alien faction. Further, the invitation would be extended to the *Panch Praja* (literally translated, it means "five subjects"), that is, those who work for them, barber, carpenter, washerman, tailor, and sweeper. A number of them said that they would invite the whole village for some ceremonies—particularly for marriage. The number to be invited and the area of the spread of their invitations was governed to a very large extent by the economic status of the individual. In the case of death, as in the age of the dead person, caste has an influence on the number of people invited for ceremonies connected with death.

In the B group the invitations would be confined to their own sub-caste in the nearby villages. The people who worked for them would also be invited.

It must be pointed out that although the higher castes would invite the lower castes, they were not allowed inside the house and were not seated with the members of the higher caste.

The C group usually invited people from their own hamlet, and one or two nearby villages.

The Muslims invited their relatives, those who worked for them, and friends, regardless of caste and religion. The major

restriction for them was the sect. There are two sects among the Muslims. Inter-relations between them are not cordial.

Smoking

The Brahmins are not allowed to smoke, so a question concerning those with whom they would share their *hookah*[2] (water pipe) did not apply.

The sharing of the *hookah* is an indication in other castes of the nature of social relations. The B group share it only with those who belong to the same *that*[3] within the sub-caste.

The C group also shared it only with those of the *that*.

It may be mentioned here that both the "leather workers" the "pig keepers" had seven sub-castes each. Even within the caste itself there was a status hierarchy based on the sub-castes.

The Muslims have no particular objection to sharing their *hookah* with anybody. In practice, however, there is some indication that they did not share it with the lower caste people.

Borrowing of Things

Among the restrictions placed on the members of a caste is one with regard to the borrowing of certain things, particularly vegetables, fruits that are cut, and salt. There are few restrictions in borrowing uncooked food grains, whole vegetables, and whole fruits.

Actually, however, very little borrowing seems to take place among the village population. A few in fact said that they never borrow anything from others because most of the things needed are available in nearby shops. They prefer to buy rather than borrow.

To the question as to whom they would borrow from if there was need, all the Brahmins said that they would borrow food grains, vegetables, salt, sugar, and pickles only from their own caste and within their own faction.

While the majority of the B group said that they would confine the borrowing to their own caste, some said they had no objection to borrowing from the Brahmins.

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[2] Also called "hubble-bubble".

[3] A group within a certain sub-caste, tending generally to have a spatia dimension.

The tendency in the C group was also to confine the borrowing to their own hamlet and to their own caste. A large number of them expressed the view that they would not hesitate to borrow from most other castes. (The chamars, or cobblers, said they would not borrow from the pig keepers and *vice versa*.)

The Muslims had no objection to borrowing except from those whom they knew ate pork. The exception was, however, mentioned only by a few. In all cases, the borrowing is restricted to their own hamlet; rarely do they go outside the hamlet, and never out of the village.

To a question as to whether they had noticed any change in the patterns of borrowing, eighty-four per cent said that there had been no change; thirteen per cent did not know; and only three per cent felt that there was some change. They felt that their rules regarding borrowing from other castes had become less rigid.

Visiting Among Women

Table 24 analyzes the replies to the question with regard as to whom the villagers' wives visited. The caste restrictions for visitation among men tend to be less rigid than for women.

Table 24 : Percentage Distribution of Population According to Group With Whom their Wives Would Visit and by Caste

| Group Visited | Caste Group | | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total
Own relatives	25	18	...	44	22
Own caste	13	14	...	4	9
Any caste in village	31	46	75	31	43
Own hamlet	...	9	...	4	2
Does not visit	4	...	4	...	2
Not reported	2	4	7	...	4
No wife	25	9	14	17	18
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
N	*52*	*22*	*28*	*23*	*125*

Of the total population, the wives of twenty-two per cent confined their visits to their own relatives. In a caste-wise

analysis it is seen that one-quarter of the Brahmin wives confined their visits to their own relatives; eighteen per cent of B group and forty-four per cent of D group did the same. Among the C group, there were no relatives in the same village and hence none of them said their wives' visits were restricted only to the relatives.

Nine per cent of the wives of the total population visited only within the caste. Thirteen per cent of A group, fourteen per cent of B group none in C group, and four per cent of the D group said that the visits would be confined to the caste. The relatives would be within the caste, thus thirty-one per cent would visit only within the caste.

Somewhat less than half the population (forty-three per cent) said that the wives would visit anybody in the village. Three fourths of the C group said that they would visit anybody in the village. This is understandable, since they were labourers primarily and would have to go to the houses of the people for whom their spouses worked. Thirty-one per cent of A group, forty-six per cent of B group, thirty-one per cent of D group said that their wives would visit anyone in the village regardless of caste.

Actually, there seemed to be little visiting in the village. This statement is based on impression rather than on systematic observation. The women were so busy that they seemed hardly able to get away from the house. Further information needs to be collected before substantial inferences can be made.

A very small percentage (two per cent) confined the visits to their own hamlet, that is, only to their own caste. About the same number (two per cent) said that their wives did not visit anybody.

Of the total population, eighteen per cent were not married and so they could not respond to this question. Four per cent did not respond to the question.

Eating With Other Castes

One of the most important restrictions in the caste system is with reference to eating. Next to marrying outside the caste, eating with someone with whom it is forbidden to eat is the most serious offence that can be committed by one of the caste members. The rule with regard to not eating with other castes seems

accepted more because of traditional practice rather than because of any clear rationalisation of the pattern of behaviour.

In Table 25, the reasons given by various castes for not eating with others are analyzed. The table omits the D group because the Muslims said that they have no objection to eating with others except those who keep pigs or those known to take wine.[4]

Table 25 : Percentage Distribution of Certain Group's Reasons For Not Eating With Other Groups

Not Eating With :	Muslims			Kunbis	Leather Workers	
Castes Not Eating : Reasons	A	B	C	A	A	B
Their occupation	42	41	14	27	63	41
Not clean	44	9	4	31	56	9
Eat meat	54	27	...	...	56	27
Lower caste	33	14	...	56	29	14
Food habits not good	21	5	4	2	10	4
Eat beef	...	...	32	...	...	...
Tradition	8	9	25	6	8	9
Religious prohibition	8	...	21	14	4	...
Low morals	4	...	3	2	4	...
They hunt	12	9	...	...	4	...
Widow remarriage	...	...	...	2	...	...
N	52	22	28	52	52	22

In Table 25 is given an analysis as to why groups A, B, and C do not eat with Muslims, Brahmins with *kunbis* (farmers), and Brahmins and B group with leather workers. Among the B group, *kunbis* were chosen because they were the most populous. It was easier to pinpoint a particular caste and ask why one caste did not eat with another caste than to ask group B in its entirety since it comprised of more than one caste. However, the reasons given for not eating with *kunbis* would also hold for other castes in B group. For similar reasons in C group, the leather workers *(chamars)* were chosen.

The more important reasons for not eating with Muslims are as follow : (1) They eat meat; (2) They are not clean ; (3) They

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[4] The Muslim religion forbids taking drinks of alcoholic nature.

are engaged in occupations which are not considered "good" by Brahmins. Actually, when pressed further with regard to occupations, many were not able to indicate why they did not approve of the occupations. Some said that they were butchers (sheep and cow slaughter). It was interesting to note that thirty-three per cent of them said that Muslims belonged to a lower caste and hence they did not eat with them. This explanation is difficult to interpret because Muslims cannot be placed in any hierarchy within the caste system.

Many among the B group (forty-one per cent) said they do not eat with Muslims because of their occupation, and twenty-seven per cent, because they eat meat. A few among them (fourteen per cent) said that Muslims belonged to a lower caste. This attitude is more difficult to analyze in B group than in A group.

Among C group, nearly one third said that they do not eat with Muslims because they eat beef[5], one fourth of them, because of tradition.

The Brahmins seemed often at a loss to explain why they did not eat with farmers *(kunbis)*. More than half of them (fifty-six per cent) said the *kunbis* belonged to a lower caste and hence they could not eat with them. Twenty-seven per cent said it was because of their occupation which, again, is difficult to understand because farming, milk selling and shop keeping are accepted as "dignified" occupations. Nearly one third (thirty-one per cent) said that they were not clean. Most of the reasons seemed to be attempts to rationalise their behaviour rather than any definite convictions.

Among the major reasons as to why the A and B groups did not eat with leather workers were : (1) occupation, (2) unclean, (3) meat-eating, and (4) lower caste.

About fifteen per cent of the Brahmins said that they had no objection to eating with any caste or group provided they were clean. These people were working in the military, railways, or had been to the Agricultural Institute, or other colleges to study. Among the B group five per cent expressed a similar opinion.

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[5] This was mentioned by those who do not eat beef. Some castes do eat beef (pasis, sweepers, pig keepers, etc.).

Temple Entry of Harijans

One of the social laws passed after Independence is that all people should be allowed to enter all temples. Until this law was passed, the temples were open generally only for higher castes. Two questions were asked of the people with regard to this : (1) Are *Harijans*[6] allowed to enter temples ? (2) Should they be allowed to enter ?

Of the total population, fifty-one per cent said that *Harijans* were allowed to enter the temple and forty-six per cent felt that they were forbidden. Three fourths (seventy-five per cent) of the C group felt that they were forbidden. A very large percentage of the B group also felt the same, whereas only one third of Brahmins said that the *Harijans* were not allowed to enter temples (see Table 26a).

To the question as to whether they should be allowed, sixty per cent of the population said that they should be and forty per cent said that they should not be allowed.

Table 26a : Percentage Distribution of Population According to Whether They Think Harijans Are Allowed to Enter Temples and by Caste

| Opinion | Caste Group | | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total
Yes	62	24	25	83	51
No	36	67	75	13	46
Don't know	2	9	...	4	3
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
N	52	22	28	23	125

Table 26b : Percentage Distribution of Population as to Whether They Considered Harijans Should be Allowed to Enter Temples and by Caste

| Opinion | Caste Group | | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total
Yes	58	28	64	100	60
No	42	72	36	...	40
Don't Know	...	...	...	...	...
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
N	52	22	28	23	125

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[6] This was the name used by Gandhi for those in C group. The term is generally accepted and is in wide usage. Literally, it means "Children of God".

All the Muslims said that they should be allowed to enter the temples. They have no objections to non-Muslims entering their mosques. Among B group, seventy-two per cent said that they should not be allowed, whereas among the Brahmins only forty-two per cent said so. Among the C group, thirty-six per cent said that they should not be allowed. When questioned further, they said that they had not entered the temples until now and that they would not know how to behave. They seemed to indicate a sense of insecurity in doing something which they had not done before.

Almost all who said that people should be allowed to enter temples said that God is the God of all and so there should be no discrimination.

Those who said that the Harijans should not be allowed gave the reasons listed below. (They are listed according to highest number of mentions in descending order.)

1. Harijans eat meat.
2. Harijans are not clean.
3. Harijans have not entered the temples up to this time.
4. It is against the religion.
5. They are low caste people.

The next two tables (27 a and b) give an analysis of the

Table 27a : Percentage Distribution of Population According to Whether They Think Harijans Are Allowed to Enter Temples and by Age

Opinion	Thirty and Below	Thirty-one and Over	Total
Yes	48	53	51
No	46	47	46
Don't know	6	...	3
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*

Table 27b : Percentage Distribution of Population According to Whether They Think Harijans Should be Allowed to Enter Temples and by Age

Opinion	Thirty and Below	Thirty-one and Over	Total
Yes	57	62	60
No	43	38	40
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*

opinion according to whether Harijans are allowed to enter temple or should be, on the basis of age differential.

According to age-wise analysis little difference was found in the percentage of people below thirty years and over thirty years who thought *Harijans* are allowed to enter the temple and those who think that they should be allowed.

"Useful" Caste of the Village

There were two questions asked regarding the usefulness of castes. The first question had reference to the caste most useful to the village, the second question was; "Which caste is most useful to you?" Tables 28 and 29 give an analysis of the answers.

Table 28 : Percentage Distribution of Population According to Which Caste is Most Useful to the Village

Most Useful Caste to the Village	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Brahmins (A)	15	17	64	17	26
Harijans (C)	100	46	18	57	64
Muslims (D)	...	...	...	...	...
All castes	4	27	18	13	13
Others	2	...	...	22	5
No response	...	...	...	...	...
(Totals more than 100 as some mentioned more than one caste)					
N	52	22	28	23	125

Table 29 : Percentage Distribution of Population According to The Caste Most Useful to Oneself and by Caste

Most Useful Caste to Oneself	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Brahmins (A)	2	24	64	13	22
Harijans (C)	88	31	7	65	56
Muslims (D)	...	...	11	...	2
All castes	4	31	11	22	14
Others	6	9	...	9	6
No response	...	5	7	...	2
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*		
(Totals more than 100 as some mentioned more than one caste)					
N	52	22	28	23	125

Sixty-four per cent of all the villagers felt that Harijans were the most useful caste of the village. The most important reason given for this opinion was that they were labourers and without them agricultural work could not be carried on. A few said that they were useful because of sanitation, particular reference being to pig rearers and sweepers.

About one fourth (twenty-six per cent) thought that the Brahmins were the most useful for the village. The reason that C group gave was that the Brahmins gave employment. Other reasons given were that they were rich, gave loans, and educated. Two or three people said that they were useful as they were necessary for performing rituals.

All castes were considered useful for the village by thirteen per cent of the population. Those that were employed by different caste people considered that particular caste most useful.

No one indicated that Muslims were the most useful for the village. This probably was due to the fact that Muslims are not a "caste" and are not an integral part of the caste system. Another factor may be that they were in a hamlet by themselves and hence isolated.

With reference to the caste most useful to oneself, eighty-nine per cent of the Brahmins said that the Harijans were the most useful to them, whereas sixty-four per cent of the Harijans (C group) said that Brahmins were most useful to them. The reciprocal relationship can be explained by the fact that there is an employer-employee relationship between them.

The opinion among the B group as to which caste was most useful for them was rather spread out among the various groups. They had their own land and worked on it themselves. They had no direct relation with any particular caste. This probably explains the opinion regarding the "most useful caste to oneself" being widely divided.

While sixty-three per cent of the Muslims considered Harijans the most useful, only eleven per cent of the Harijans considered them most useful to themselves. There was no mutual relationship as was seen between the Harijans and the Brahmins.

CHANGES IN CASTE RELATIONS

"Have you noticed any changes in caste relations ?" was the next question. Almost half the population did not respond to

this question; thirty-nine per cent of the population felt that there had been changes; and fourteen per cent said that there had been no changes.

A larger per cent of the Brahmins than the other groups felt that there had been changes. Among the C group, eighty-seven per cent said that they "did not know".

Those who said that they had noticed changes were questioned further as to the nature of changes. More than half (fifty-two per cent) mentioned that the lower castes now had greater facilities. Upper castes indicated such things as: "They are sitting in *panchayat* with us"; "Government is helping them for digging wells and for education."

About a third of the Brahmins said, "There are no longer any differences." This is another way of saying that the lower castes had greater facilities for their improvement.

About a third of the total population said that there were no differences in clothes, the type of work, and opportunities for education between the various caste groups, although reference was more specifically to C group. Earlier, there were restrictions as to the type of clothes to be worn by the C group. They also did not have equal opportunities for education because social pressure was exerted to keep their children away from school.

Brahmins also mentioned two other factors; namely, that higher castes were not harassing the lower castes and that they (Brahmins) were not being respected by the lower caste. Some of the lower caste people also said the same by indicating that there was no *begaar*, a sort of forced labour. Several of the

Table 30a: Percentage Distribution of Population According to Whether They Had Noticed Any Changes in Caste Relations and by Caste

Change	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Yes	56	27	13	39	37
No	17	27	...	13	14
Don't know	27	41	87	48	48
Same as before	...	5	...	...	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

Brahmins indicated resentment of the fact that C group had begun to sit on cots with them and considered this a show of disrespect.

Table 30b: Percentage Distribution of Population According to
The Types of Changes Noticed in Caste
Relations and by Caste

Nature of Change*	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
More facilities for lower castes	60	60	50	12	52
Everybody equal now	38	...	...	44	31
No difference in clothes and education	32	40	50	44	31
Higher castes not harassing lower castes	14	...	25	...	8
Lower caste not respecting	14	...	...	...	8

*Because many gave more than one answer, the percentages are more than 100. (percentages worked only on those who answered, "Yes" to the question) :

"Have you noticed any changes in the caste relations ?

SUMMARY

For most social affairs the invitations were restricted to members of the same caste, both from within the village and from nearby villages. In marriages among the higher castes, all the villagers might be invited. Smoking the water pipe is restricted to one's own sub-group within the sub-caste. Although there are no restrictions for borrowing from other castes, the tendency to borrow, if at all, was within one's own caste.

About half the population said that their wives visited people of all castes in the village, one third confined the visiting to one's own relatives.

The reasons given for not eating with other castes had primarily to do with the fact that the upper castes considered the occupations of the lower castes and of the Muslims as "undignified". Some considered the C and D groups as unclean.

Some said that because the lower castes and the Muslims eat meat, they could not eat with them.

More than half the population said that Harijans are allowed to enter temples whereas sixty per cent felt that they should be. An analysis by age showed little difference of opinion between those who were under thirty years and those who were more than thirty-one years.

Of the total population, sixty-four per cent considered the Harijans the most useful caste for the village. There were reciprocal relationships between the A and C groups.

About half the population said that they did not know if there were any changes taking place. Thirty-eight per cent said that changes were taking place. Many referred to the lower castes having more facilities and thus "raising" their status.

Among the Brahmins, fifteen per cent said that they would not mind eating with anybody, whereas only five per cent of B group expressed the same opinion. A larger percentage of the Brahmins than the B group said that the Harijans should be allowed to enter the temple. In indicating the useful caste also, the Brahmins were less inhibited in pointing out the C group.

The Brahmins seemed more willing than B group to relax the rigidity which exists in inter-caste relations.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL CONTROL

It is generally felt that social control is very rigid in rural areas and that rural people tend to conform rigidly to accepted traditional norms. It is further assumed that these social controls prevent social change. The purpose of the chapter is to examine to what extent the village people conform to, or deviate from, the expected patterns of behaviour.

The chapter is divided on the basis of behaviour related to norms which concern the individual, the family, and the caste.

INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOUR

Certain forms of behaviour were mentioned which are not particularly approved by rural society; and the interviewees were asked to give reasons explaining why they refrain from behaving in this manner (see Table 31).

The two most important factors which prevented people from gambling or taking land from others by unacceptable means, were the fear of God and fear of their own consciences. In all the other forms of behaviour mentioned, conscience was the forbidding factor for a larger per cent of Brahmins than for the other groups. This may indicate that there is a greater process of inner direction among the Brahmins than among the other groups. Fear of God was mentioned by thirty-four per cent of the total population as a deterrant to gambling and thirty-nine per cent for taking land from others by unfair means. Of the total population, more than half (fifty-four per cent) were prevented from gambling by their consciences.

As for spending needlessly, i.e., on luxuries or unnecessary travel, conscience, God, members of the family, father, wife, head of family, mother, were the forbidding factors in that order. Among the A and B groups, members of the family seemed to have a greater influence on behaviour relating to spending of money uselessly than in the C and D groups. This

Table 31 : Percentage Distribution of Population According to What They Were Afraid of in Certain Forms of Behaviour and by Caste

| Fear of | Gambling | | | | | Taking Land of Other Villagers | | | | |
| | Caste Group | | | | | Caste Group | | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total	A	B	C	D	Total
God	23	45	36	49	34	22	55	43	48	39
Conscience	61	36	50	35	54	44	32	36	35	38
Police	8	9	...	9	6	8	4	...	...	4
Wife	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Head of family	4	9	3	9	5	2	...	13	...	3
Mother	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Father	...	...	11	...	2	6	...	11	...	2
Head of panchayat	...	...	4	...	1	...	4	4	...	4
Others	2	9	...	...	2	4	4	...	...	2
No fear	2	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	1
No such habit	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	4	4
N	52	22	28	23	125	52	22	28	23	125

Fear of	Spending Uselessly Caste Group					Going Out For A Job Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total	A	B	C	D	Total
God	8	18	14	22	14	4	18	14	22	12
Conscience	35	45	4	43	34	31	32	17	30	22
Police	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wife	6	..	14	9	7	11	14	14	9	12
Head of family	..	9	..	17	5	..	..	..	..	..
Mother	6	4	..	..	4	2	4	4	4	3
Father	..	18	21	..	8	..	18	25	13	11
Members of family	42	18	..	..	21	44	14	..	49	30
No fear	2	..	..	4	2	4	..	7	4	4
No money	..	..	29	4	7	..	..	..	..	..
Other villagers	..	9	..	..	2	2	4	4	4	3
N	52	22	28	23	125	52	22	28	23	125

* Percentages will not add exactly to 100 in each column. Some did not answer. In some cases a person gave more than one answer.

is probably due (as indicated in the chapter on family relations) to the joint family system being dominant in these groups. Among the C group, twenty-nine per cent said that they had no money and the question did not arise.

With regard to going out for a job, *i.e.*, leaving the village and staying elsewhere, the factors that prevented the subjects from doing it were members of the family, their conscience, God, wife, father, and mother in that order. When questioned further about how their conscience bothered them, they felt that they must stay with the family and bear the responsibility. This is also borne out by the fact that thirty per cent of the total population were afraid of members of the family in going out of the village for a job. Twelve per cent cited fear of God while another twelve per cent were uneasy concerning their wives. Two types of concern were expressed with regard to their wives : (1) There would not be anyone to take care of them, and (2) they might be unfaithful.

None of the villagers were restrained in behaving in a particular way because of the fear of after-effects after death, nor of the priest. Both these factors were included in the question. A few were afraid of the police (six per cent for gambing ; forty per cent for taking land from others). There was little supervision by the police in the area. The police came only when some crime was reported. The caste head man or the head of the village *panchayat* had very little influence over the behaviour of the people. A few people said that they were afraid of "other villagers", particularly in connection with seeking a job outside the village. Two reasons were given : (1) that their land may be taken away by others, and (2) that they may not be very well accepted in the village if they went out and came back again. About four or five people said that the forms of behaviour mentioned did not concern them because they had never behaved thus. Another four or five said that they did not fear anything.

CONSULTING HOROSCOPE

The question, "Do you consult a horoscope ?" revealed that only eighteen per cent of the informants consulted this quasi-scientific method of prognostication. It is of interest to note that none among the C and D groups consulted horoscopes.

Only some in A and B groups did so. The reasons they gave for their behaviour were : (1) The horoscope gives some idea of the future (fourteen per cent). (2) When there is marriage, it is necessary to consult the horoscope. (3) Tradition. (4) Others do it.

Table 32: Percentage Distribution of Population According to Whether or Not They Consult Horoscope

| Whether or Not They Consult Horoscope | Caste Group | | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total
Yes	35	24	...	...	18
No	65	76	100	100	82
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

Eighty-two per cent did not consult the horoscope. The most important reason mentioned was : "I do not believe in it." Fifty per cent of the total population gave this reason while thirty-one per cent did not give any reason. One person said, "Fate cannot be changed."

The next question was related to the previous one. Information concerning the frequency of their action being guided according to the advice of an astrologer was gathered.

Table 33: Percentage Distribution of Population by Those Who Base Actions on Advice of Astrologers and by Caste

| Extent of Basing Their Actions | Caste Group | | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total
Always	6	...	...	...	2
Sometimes	33	24	...	...	18
Never	61	76	100	100	80
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

Four fifths of the population (eighty per cent) never based their actions on the advice of the astrologer. Only two per cent based their actions always on the advice of the astrologers. Among the Brahmins thirty-three per cent and among the B group twenty-four per cent sometimes followed the advice of the astrologer. Often this was connected with the marriage

ceremony. None among the C and D groups ever based their
action on the advice of the astrologer.

FAMILY DISCIPLINE

To the question, "Who is responsible for the family dis-
cipline?" more than three fourths of the population said that
the earning member of the family was responsible for it. The
answer was rather surprising because generally it is taken for
granted that the eldest male member is responsible for the dis-
cipline of the family members. Only thirteen per cent said that
the father was responsible for the discipline of the family. A
few (five per cent) said that the eldest member of the family was
responsible, while some did not give any reply (see Table 34).

Table 34: Percentage Distribution of Population by Persons said
to be Responsible for Family Discipline and by Caste

Person Responsible	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Father	15	9	18	4	13
Mother	...	5	...	...	1
Earning Member	77	73	68	92	76
Eldest Member	4	4	11	...	5
No Response	4	9	3	4	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

DISCIPLINE OF THE CHILDREN

There is no clear idea as to whether the father or the mother
is responsible for the discipline of the children in the rural
family.

It is generally held that the mother is responsible when
children are young and at later ages (after ten years or so), par-
ticularly for boys, the father is considered responsible.

Table 35: Percentage Distribution of Population by Persons
Responsible for the Discipline of Children and by Caste

Person Responsible	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Father	39	27	57	48	42
Mother	59	64	39	35	51
No response	2	9	4	17	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

When the people in the village were asked who was responsible for the discipline of the children, some said that this would depend on whether the child is a girl or a boy. There seemed to be some hesitation among many before they could decide on who they should say was responsible. In the final analysis fifty-one per cent said that the mother was responsible, whereas forty-two per cent said that the father was responsible. A few (six per cent) were not sure, some of this number feeling that both were responsible.

A larger per cent among the C and D groups felt that father was responsible than among the A and B groups. This may indicate a more dominant patriarchal type of family among the C and D groups as compared to the A and B groups.

CONSULTATIONS FOR ARRANGING MARRIAGES

In Table 36 an analysis is given of the person the subjects in the various groups would choose to consult in arranging a marriage in the family. More than half (fifty-four per cent) said that they would consult the elder member of the family, since he had experience and knowledge about these matters, while seventeen per cent said that they would consult the earning member because expenses were involved. A fourth of the population said that they did not know since there had been no occasion to arrange a marriage in their family. A few people mentioned that they would consult some elder member in the village or among relatives, and friends.

Table 36: Percentage Distribution of Population According to the Person Who Would be Consulted for Arranging Marriage in the Family and by Caste

Person to be Consulted	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Elder member in family	64	41	46	49	54
Earning member in family	14	24	14	22	17
Some elder member	6	14	...	...	5
Relatives	2	...	...	4	2
Friends	6	...	...	...	2
Don't know	15	27	49	26	25
N	52	22	28	23	125

ᵃ Percentages add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer in some cases.

MEANS OF CONTROL

Certain forms of behaviour, most of which are not considered in keeping with expected norms of behaviour, were listed. The informants were asked to indicate whether they would take any action, and if so what type of action. Some general methods of control were also listed.

The opinions expressed are not analyzed caste-wise because a very similar pattern occurred among all groups.

Table 37: Percentage Distribution of Population According to the Action to be Taken for Certain Forms of Behaviours*

Forms of Behaviour	Scold	Beat	Out of House	Purifying Ceremony	No Action	Don't Know
Contradict elder	57	69	...	...	...	...
Wear clothes not approved	28	12	...	...	60	...
Overspends money	46	64	...	...	...	...
Girl talks to boys	32	67	27	...	...	...
Adopts new agricultural practices	16	5	...	...	78	2
Kills a cow by accident	16	5	...	78	2	21

* In some cases the percentages add to more than 100 since more than one answer was given in some cases.

Respect for age is one of the accepted values in rural society. Any attempt to answer back or to contradict an elder is considered a bad form of behaviour. Everyone in the village said that some action would be taken if a person were to contradict an elder. It would be either to scold or beat the person who offends.

Certain clothes are not supposed to be worn by certain castes. This is not considered a serious offence now. Sixty per cent would not take any action, twenty-eight per cent would only scold, while twelve per cent would beat the person. It may be recalled that when discussing the caste relations, one of the opinions expressed was that there were no differences now between the different castes in the types of clothing worn.

If money was mis-spent by a member of the family the punishment would be either to scold and/or to beat.

A girl over the age of twelve is not supposed to talk with boys in the village. When a question was asked as to what they would do if a girl talked to a boy, they said that the girl would either be scolded and/or beaten. Twenty-seven per cent said that they would turn the girl out of the house. When this question was asked, the villagers seemed to have interpreted the question as referring to illicit relationships.

When asked about the adoption of new agricultural practices, there was varied reaction. Most people thought a new practice usually meant an increase in yield and generally approved of the idea. Some said that it would depend on the practice, its usefulness, and the expenses involved. More than three-quarters of the population (seventy-eight per cent) said that they would not take any action if a member of the family adopted a new agricultural practice.

All Hindus said that they would make a person who killed a cow accidentally in their family undergo a purifying ceremony. The ceremony entails the "offender" going on a pilgrimage to some holy place for a period of time prescribed by the priest ; it is completed when, on his return, he feeds Brahmins. The Muslims would take no action since the cow is not held in reverence by them as it is by the Hindus.

CASTE DISCIPLINE

Among the Hindus, the caste is rigid and the behaviour of individuals is guided by the norms and standards set by the caste.

A further list of forms of behaviour was given which defy the caste regulations : the question put to the subjects concerned the course of action they would take if (1) a member of the family, and (2) a member of the caste behaved in some of the ways listed in the questionnaire.

Within the caste, the only action that can be taken is to ostracize the person from the caste. If a member of the caste were ostracized and if any other member had any form of contact with him, then he too would be ostracized.

In Table 48 an analysis is given of the actions that people would take against their family members for behaving in certain

ways. Those who said that they would not take action against
the family also said that they would not take action against the
members of the caste either.

To the question as to what action would be taken if a per-
son took food outside the caste, forty-three per cent of the total
population said that no action would be taken. This in a sense
is misleading because there is no particular restriction for the
Muslims regarding eating with others. When a look at the other
castes is taken, it is noted that a larger per cent of the Brahmins
than of the B and C groups would not take action. Only a very
low per cent among the C group would not take action.

The pattern is similar for anyone taking water with people
not of the same caste.

The changes in attitude—or the tolerance of either members
of family or of caste are probably due to the fact that a number
of them are working in military service, railways, or factories
where they are forced to eat with others. In educational in-
stitutions, too, they have to eat with other caste groups since
there are no exclusive arrangements for different castes. In tra-
velling, people have begun to use hotels more freely and very
rarely is the caste of the owner or of the cook known. All this
has led to a relaxation of regulations.

Table 38 : Percentage Distribution of Population by Type of
Punishment to be Meted Out if Members of Family Behaved
According to the Way Indicated

Forms of Behaviour	Scold	Beat	Out of House	Purifying Ceremony	Others	No Action
Food outside caste	4	10	20	2	19	43
Water outside caste	14	12	13	5	16	45
Married outside caste	1	6	49	2	16	23
Married a widow	4	1	20	1	6	60
Married a person of low morals	26	13	29	13	10	14
Take food not approved	4	6	41	6	17	17
Join other religion	2	7	40	2	6	17
Occupation not of caste	6	3	5	3	4	75
Smoke outside caste	1	3	6	7	15	21

Table 38a : Percentage Distribution of Those People Who Would not Take Any Action if Any Member of the Family or Caste Did the Things That Are Listed and by Caste

Caste Group	Food	Water	Married Other Caste	Widow	Low Morals	Food Not Approved	Religious Group	Smoke	Occupation
A	42	56	23	50	8	...	11	...	69
B	36	18	14	73	18	9	14	14	55
C	14	14	29	55	11	11	14	18	93
D	87	87	26	78	30	73	30	30	87
Total	43	45	23	60	14	17	17	21	75
N	52	54	29	75	16	20	20	26	94

If a person married outside the caste, nearly a fourth of the population said that they would not take action. Nearly half (forty-nine per cent) would turn the family member out of the house. Sixteen per cent said they would not allow them to share the "hubble bubble" with members of the caste or the family, but they would maintain speaking relations.

Two of the Brahmins in the village have wives (by common law) whose caste is not known. The villagers have very little social intercourse with them. Only a few villagers talk to them, but no borrowing or visitation by the other Brahmins occurs. During the observance of the Holi festival when a group went singing from house to house, their houses were by-passed. However, the two Brahmins do not seem to be too bothered because they work in railway and do not spend much time in the village. They are financially well off, have probably the best houses in the village, and own about ten acres of land.

Among the B, C, and D groups there are no strong restic- tions against widow remarriage; however, it is not a particularly approved form of behaviour. Among the Brahmins, widow re- marriage is forbidden, yet fifty per cent of them said that they would not take any action. There seems to be some relaxa- tion with regard to the idea of widow remarriage, particularly if the girl is young and more so if the marriage had not been consummated. In Sarangapur there was a Brahmin girl who

was quite young (about twenty years) whose husband had died when she was about ten years old. The author was told that many attempts had been made by villagers to have her marry again, but the girl herself took the view that she must put up with her fate.

Only fourteen per cent said that they would not take action if an individual married a person known to have low morals. If both were from the same caste, the caste could not take any action. Even in the family, no serious action could be taken though, this would be resented, and although twenty-nine per cent said that they would turn them out of the house, the remaining said they would take some minor action. In another study which the author made,[1] character was indicated as the primary factor to be considered in looking for a bride.

Every caste has certain restrictions as to the type of food people within it should take. Muslims are forbidden to take liquor or pork. Eating forbidden food seems a serious matter in view of the fact that forty-one per cent said that they would turn an offender out of the house. The person would be automatically ostracized from the caste. Seventeen per cent said that they would not take action. A larger per cent of the Muslims than of A, B, and C groups said that they would not take action; actually, among the Muslims, the restrictions are not strong except for taking pork.

√One Brahmin was seen preparing "egg nog" for his brother who was sick. When questioned as to how a Brahmin could take egg, it was explained that the egg and milk were ordered by the doctor. Any diet suggested by a doctor is considered a medicine, and regardless of what it contains, it can be taken without offending caste rules.√

As for joining another religious group, people generally felt that no action would be necessary since any person changing his religion would automatically go out of the house and the caste. However, forty per cent did indicate that they would turn their family members out of the house. Seventeen per cent said that they would not take any action. Most felt it would not be necessary. If a member of a family or caste were to

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[1] A. P. Barnabas, "Social Values Among Rural People", Benares, Samaj, September, 1956.

change religion and others were to have any relations with the individual, then they too would be ostracized.

Three fourths of the population (seventy-five per cent) said that they would not take any action if either a member of the family or of the caste engaged in some occupation not followed by the caste. In the C and D groups few people would take action. This is probably due to the fact that the C group usually have very lowly jobs and the Muslims have no traditional jobs. Among the A group, seventy per cent said that they would not take any action because they too do not seem now to have any "traditional" occupation as not all of them can be priests. In B group, which is the artisan group, the tendency seems to be greater to hold on to traditional occupations : a little less than half the population (forty-five per cent) said that they would take some action if a person took a job not in keeping with caste tradition. On the whole there seems to be little reaction to the forms of occupation persons engage in.

The research assistant at the end of the survey wanted to take a job as a night watchman in a factory because he could not get any other work. His father prevented this, feeling that it was neither in keeping with the jobs that his son had earlier nor with the dignity of the caste and family.

The Brahmins do not smoke and so they did not answer any questions on the action they would take if a person smoked the water pipe with members of some other caste. The Muslims have no restriction, only the B and C groups replied in terms of traditional restriction. Two types of action would be taken : (1) To make the person undergo a purifying ceremony and (2) to prevent the individual sharing the water pipe with other members of the caste. This is in a sense as serious as being ostracized from the caste.

THE CASTE PANCHAYATS

The caste *panchayat* in the past has been a strong organisation and it has been responsible for controlling social behaviour. However, not all castes have a formal organisation. Among the Brahmins there is no formal organisation, but there are a few recognized leaders who come together in case of misbehaviour among the members of the caste. The Muslims do not have an organisation comparable to the caste *panchayat*.

Among the B and C groups there is a caste *panchayat*. Eighty-eight per cent of the C group felt that the caste *panchayat* is today as strong as before, while among the B group only forty-six per cent felt so. All agree that the function of the caste *panchayat* is to see that the member of a particular caste conforms to the caste rules and regulations.

A MEETING OF THE CASTE PANCHAYAT

An example of the manner in which a caste *panchayat* functions follows :

A meeting of the caste *panchayat* of *Vaish* (merchant) caste was called by the *Choudhary* (caste head) who lives in Sarangapur because he had received a complaint from a person from Jasra (sixteen miles from Sarangapur) regarding the behaviour of one of the members of the caste in his jurisdiction. The complaint was that the said individual had refused to give his daughter in marriage after engagement. The person against whom the complaint was made resided in Baswar, three miles from Sarangapur.

The girl's father (defendant) said that he was "willing to give his daugher in marriage". This was not arranged because the dates suggested by the groom's party were not suitable. At one time, another marriage in the family had been arranged, and at another time it was not the marriage season.

Because the dates had not been agreed to, the groom's party had misunderstood it as refusal. Further, the groom's party had insulted the bride's party by saying that the boy would die if the marriage was cancelled after the engagement. Hence, an apology in the form of Rs. 500 at *tilak* was demanded. (*Tilak* is the time when the bridegroom's party comes to fix the arrangements for the marriage.)

The *panchayat* members (four) who resided in nearby villages seemed convinced of the argument and sent a letter to the head of the caste panchayat at Jasra (groom's home) demanding the penalty. It was partly a matter of upholding the action of member of one's own group.

Later the two heads met, a compromise was effected, and the marriage was arranged.

Most of the means of control indicated in the study are negative in nature. This is because the negative restriction seems to be much stronger. To be turned out of one's house or ostracized from the caste is a matter of great shame.

Many individuals expressed the view that, left to themselves, they were not interested in taking action if the family member or caste member broke some of the caste rules. However, they said "If we do not conform to the rules and the actions agreed to by the caste, we ourselves will be in difficulties and may get thrown out of the caste." This would naturally create difficulties particularly for arranging marriages of members of their family. Consequently, it was more a result of necessity than of conviction that the villagers agreed to punishment given to other members of the caste and even of the family. The brother of one of the villagers, living in another village, had developed illicit relations with his widowed daughter-in-law. The villager was forbidden to visit and to have any contact with his brother. If he did, he was told, he himself would be ostracized. The choice was difficult for him, but nevertheless, he decided to cut off his relations with his brother and maintain the caste discipline. The pressure of the caste group and, at times, of other villagers is a stronger determinant in making individuals accept a certain mode of action rather than individual conviction.

No correlation tables between age and various aspects of social control are given since no correlation was seen.

SUMMARY

For the individual, the restrictive factors were one's own conscience or the fear of God. In a few instances the members of the family also seemed to have some influence on the course of action that an individual took. Few seemed to be guided by astrology or horoscope.

For the family, the earning member was responsible for the discipline of the family. There was no clear concensus as to who was responsible for the discipline of the children, while fifty-two per cent said that the mother was responsible and forty-two per cent said that the father was. Either the elder member or the earning member was consulted for marriage.

In most cases of "minor misbehaviour", family members were scolded or beaten.

In case of more serious offences, there was different action to be taken, ranging from scolding to turning the individual out of the house. Generally speaking, the Brahmins seemed to have become more liberal or tolerant about various forms of behaviour not expected of them. On the other hand, in the C group the tendency seemed to be to become more rigid : in many cases, only a few said they would not take action if people did not behave according to the prescribed rules.

As for the caste, only action to be taken against an individual is to ostracize him. There was, however, provision for taking the individual back into the caste if the individual performed a purifying ceremony. The type of purifying ceremony would depend on how "grave" the offence was. If an individual married outside the caste, the individual would have to give up the partner, apart from undergoing a purifying ceremony. If an individual took water with somebody outside the caste, then the individual had only to take a bath in the River Ganges to purify himself.

Many individuals intimated that they would take action more because of pressure of other caste members than of personal conviction ; otherwise it would affect their own position.

Comparatively speaking, the Muslims had the fewest restrictions, whereas the Brahmins seemed to be relaxing to the greatest extent. Group B was not as rigid as group C in conforming to caste rules.

CHAPTER X

SOME SOCIAL ATTITUDES

An attitude is a learned tendency to respond in some characteristic way toward an object, idea, situation, or value. The attitudes determine the behaviour of the individual. If change is to be effected, then the attitudes of the people must be studied. The change suggested is more likely to be accepted if it does not violate the existing attitudes. Social attitudes are those that are shared.

The purpose of the present chapter is to describe what some of the social attitudes of the villagers are and to discuss which of these attitudes indicate a change from what have generally been considered normal tendencies.

EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN

"Should your children get more education than you ?" To this question ninety-five per cent of the population answered in the affirmative, two per cent in the negative, and three per cent did not respond. When asked why they wanted their children to have more education, the following reasons were given :

1. To obtain employment (59%)
2. To learn how to behave (manners) (19%)
3. For the progress of the country (4%)
4. So they can be leaders (4%)
5. Other children go to school (3%)
6. To be a member of legislative body (1%)
7. Times have changed (1%)

Some did not give any reasons. Those who said that the children should not be educated said that the education spoils the character of the children ; others said that if they get educated they will not respect the elders.

EDUCATION OF GIRLS

To the question as to whether the girls should be educated, 83 per cent of the population said that they should be, while 16 per cent felt that they should not be.

Table 39:   Percentage Distribution of Population According
to Whether They Consider Girls should be Educated or
not and by Caste

Opinion	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Yes	94	86	64	78	83
No	6	14	36	18	16
No response	...	...	...	4	1
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
N	52	22	28	23	125

Among the Brahmins only 6 per cent consider that the girls
should not be educated, whereas in the C group, 36 per cent
said that they should not be.   Among the Muslims 17 per cent
and in B group, 14 per cent said that the girls should not be
educated ; thus groups B and D occupied a position inter-
mediate between A and C group (see Table 39).

The reasons given as to why girls should be educated were
as follows :

1. For improved living (which included such things as
     better behaviour, manner, ability to converse well, and
     do various things more efficiently)
2. To get a good husband   (12%)
3. To guide children well   (10%)
4. To keep accounts   (6%)
5. To correspond with husband   (6%)
6. It's a help in bad times   (5%)—(In case of death of
     husband, or loss of his employment, may be the wife
     can earn.)

About 8 per cent of the population did not give any
reasons. Those who said girls should not be educated, felt that

1. Women should work at home and cook   (11%)
2. Character would be lost   (3%)
3. Education is of no use to women   (2%)
4. They will not respect their husbands   (2%)

CO-EDUCATION

In Table 40, an analysis is given of the opinions of the
villagers with regard to co-education. There was rather a
sharp division of opinion ; 52 per cent felt that boys and girls

could go to school together, whereas 48 per cent felt that they should not. Here again the percentage of people in A group approving of co-education is larger than that of any of the other groups ; the lowest per cent of approvals was in the C group. The B and D groups occupied an intermediate position.

Table 40:   Percentage Distribution of Population, and
by Caste, According to Opinion as to Whether
There should be Co-education

Opinion		Caste Group				
		A	B	C	D	Total
Yes		64	45	36	48	52
No		36	55	64	52	48
	Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
	N	52	22	28	23	125

In Table 40a is given a breakdown showing the ages up to which they (those who approved of co-education) considered boys and girls could go to school together.

Table 40a: Percentage Distribution of Population* and
by Caste, According to What Age Boys and Girls
Can Go to School Together

Age		Caste Group				
		A	B	C	D	Total
9-11 years		24	10	40	9	22
12-14 years		46	80	60	37	52
15-17		12	10	...	27	12
18 and over		3	...	...	...	2
Any age		15	...	...	27	12
	Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
	N	34	10	10	11	65

* Of those who approved of co-education.

Nearly three fourths of the people who approved of co-education said that children should be separated according to sex after the fourteenth year. Among the Brahmins and Muslims (one third in A ; one half in D) who said that co-education could go on beyond the age of twelve, some indicated that there need be no limit.

LITIGATION

There is a tendency in Indian villages for greater and greater litigation. In Sarangapur 45 per cent[1] of the villagers had been involved in litigation in some forms. All these cases were of "civil" nature, being related to settlement of land and property. The involvement may have been either as a complainant, defendant, or witness.

Table 41 : Percentage Distribution of Population (Heads) by Involvement of Litigation and by Caste

Opinion		Caste Group				
		A	B	C	D	Total
Yes		56	67	28	30	45
No		44	33	72	70	55
	Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
	N	52	22	28	23	125

A large majority of population (heads) felt that litigation had increased in the recent past and gave the following opinions as the cause of this trend (arranged according to highest number of mentions).

1. Selfishness and dishonesty have increased.
2. Abolition of *zamindari* system (feudal landlordism) resulting in land disputes.
3. Establishment of judicial *panchayats* at the village level.

People who complain before these judicial *panchayats* do not pay fees nor are they allowed to engage lawyers. Consequently, any small matter is presented to it for consideration.

Among other reasons listed were : no money, no education, no respect for elders, poverty. Twenty-two per cent did not give any reasons why they felt litigation had increased.

Except for one person, all others considered litigation unfortunate for the village and gave the following reasons :

1. Waste of money (88%)
2. Waste of time (31%)
3. Creates enmity (12%)
4. Risk of life (10%)

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[1] This does not include the number of people who got involved in the fight between factions, as the fight occured after the interviews had been completed.

5. Interferes with study of religion
6. Loss of prestige
7. Loss of energy

TRAVELLING

As indicated in the chapter on social ecology, travelling has increased. In the village 89 per cent said that the people of the village were travelling more now than before ; 6 per cent felt they were not travelling as much, whereas 5 per cent did not know. Some of the reasons listed for the increase in travel by villagers were :

1. For employment (56%)
2. Because people have more education (23%)
3. Greater facilities for travel (10%)
4. People now have more money (14%)
5. Increase in population (10%)
6. For buying implements (8%)
7. For litigation (2%)
8. For pilgrimage (1%)

Those who said that there was less travel gave the opposite reasons :

1. People have less money
2. Can get employment near the village
3. Population has decreased (migration to Pakistan)
4. Cannot get jobs outside.
5. Fewer people go on pilgrimage.

To the question as to whether travelling was good for the village, 66 per cent considered it good, whereas 30 per cent felt it was bad, and 3 per cent did not know. Ninety-two per cent among A group, which is twice as high as the B group in percentage, and three times as high as C group's, considered travelling good for the village. Three fourths of the Muslims considered travelling as good for the village.

Following are the reasons why travelling was considered good for the villages :

1. Enables one to see new things (38%)
2. To learn new things (28%)
3. To earn money (18%)
4. For gaining more knowledge (12%)
5. To know the ways of life of others (3%)

6. For education (1%)

Those who said travelling was bad gave the following reasons :

1. Waste of money (21%)
2. Character is lost (6%)
3. Worry for family (9%)
4. Bad for religion (4%)
5. Bad for agriculture (1%)

Table 42 : Percentage Distribution of Population, and by Caste According to Whether Travelling is considered Good or Bad for the Village

Opinion	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Good	92	45	29	75	67
Bad	8	41	68	25	30
Don't know	...	14	3	...	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

RELIGION

Religion in rural areas is considered to have a very strong hold. To discover what the village people thought the trend was regarding religiosity among the people, the question as to whether they considered people of the village less religious or more religious in the present than ten years ago, was asked.

Of the total population 61 per cent felt that the people are now less religious than before, consisting of 83 per cent of A group, 50 per cent of B group, 25 per cent of C group, and 65 per cent of D group.

Eighteen per cent said that the villagers were now more religious than before, 16 per cent felt that there was no difference, and 5 per cent said that they did not know whether there was any difference.

Although a large per cent said that people were less religious than before, very many among them did not have any opinion concerning the causes. The following are some of the reasons for less religiosity given by others.

1. People have more money now.
2. People have more education.

3. There is an increase in the population.
4. "Kaliyug" (Era of evil).
5. Congress government (which passed laws against accepted patterns of behaviour, *e.g.*, abolition of untouchability).
6. Poverty.

Those who said religiosity had increased felt that more money, with people making more pilgrimage, and better education—these factors contributed to a better understanding of religion. A few said, "God is the only salvation these days."

Table 43 : Percentage Distribution of Population, and
by Caste, According to Opinion Regarding
Religiousness of People

Opinion	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
More religious	11	27	28	9	18
Same as before	4	14	36	22	16
Less religious	83	50	25	65	61
Don't know	2	9	11	4	5
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*

A Religious Meeting

During the period of the study, an unusual religious meeting was witnessed in a village about two miles from Sarangapur, with which it has some slight social relationships. The religious meeting was conducted by "Satyavati" and her party of six people. It was not possible to gather any definite information about her background. Some said she had left her husband because of her religion, others said that she was an actress and had given it up because of poor health. She conducted meetings at any village which paid her Rs. 20 ($4) per day. She spent two days at the village mentioned. A large number of people from Sarangapur attended the meeting. The discourse was on "The Goodness of God." Singing and speeches were used in the presentation. She showed great ability in handling the harmonium (musical instrument).

From the sociological point of view the following factors were of importance :

1. A woman was conducting a religious meeting.

2. The upper and the lower caste people sat together.
3. Many high caste women, who are usually in *purdha* (seclusion), were present.
4. The majority of the people attending the meeting were either young or, at most, middle aged. The older people probably resented the idea of a young woman conducting a religious meeting.

CEREMONIES AND RITUALS

Only five per cent of the population had seen or made any changes in the various ceremonies and rituals, which have already been described, when the question was asked as to whether they felt that any changes were necessary. Thirty-four per cent of the population said that changes were necessary whereas 62 per cent did not feel so. Among the Brahmins a larger per cent felt that changes were necessary. Among the C group 89 per cent said that there should be no change. This may be due in part to the fact that they have very few rituals. There seemed to be a feeling among them that any changes in rituals would further lower their status.

It would be seen from Table 44*a* that Brahmins were the ones who suggested more changes than any of the other groups. Apart from those listed in the table, some of the other changes mentioned (although by very few people in each instance) were : widow remarriage should be allowed, inter-caste marriage should not be forbidden, bride and bridegroom should see each other before the marriage.

Table 44 : Percentage Distribution of Population, and by Caste, According to Whether They Consider Changes in Ceremonies and Rituals Necessary or Not

Opinion	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Yes	58	23	11	17	34
No	42	73	89	83	65
No response	...	4	...	...	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

Table 44a :   Percentage Distribution of Population, and
by Caste, By Type of Changes Suggested in Rituals
and Ceremonies

Suggestion	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Dowry to be stopped	38	...	...	13	18
No early marriage	38	14	11	4	83
Extravagance to be reduc- ed at marriage	21	14	...	...	11
Dancing should be stop- ped at marriage	11	...	...	...	5
No parties after death	6	...	...	...	2

JUDGING THE COURSE OF LIFE

In order to determine the thinking of the village people as
to what they considered the best course in life, three choices
were given and they were asked to indicate the one which they
approved and give reasons for their choice.

The choices were as follows :

1. One thinks only of the present. He forgets the past
    and is not concerned with the future.
2. Another man thinks best way to live is by hereditary
    traditions. He thinks it to be the best way of life.
3. The third man plans for the future. To this he gives
    utmost value and thinks it the best way of life.

Table 45 :   Percentage Distribution of Population, and
by Caste, According to What They Consider as
the Best Way of Life

Course of Life	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
1.	...	5	...	...	1
2.	27	36	64	39	40
3.	73	59	11	61	53
No response	...	...	25	...	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

Table 45 gives an analysis of the responses of the villagers. There is a sharp division of opinion. While 53 per cent felt that planning for the future is the best course in life, 40 per cent felt that keeping to the traditional pattern was better than either being concerned with the present or planning the future.

Among the Brahmins, 73 per cent considered planning for the future as the best course in life, while only 11 per cent in C group felt so. Among the B group 59 per cent and among the Muslims 61 per cent considered planning for the future as the best course.

Among the C group 64 per cent considered it was good to live by traditions. It is of interest to note that in C group 25 per cent did not answer this question.

Those who approve of living by traditions felt that departing from traditions would be bad for religious life. Those who felt that planning for the future was good, said that there would be no progress without planning the future.

INDEPENDENCE

More than half the population of the village did not feel that they had derived any benefit from independence. Among the Muslims 78 per cent felt this way, whereas among the Brahmins 38 per cent had the same opinion.

Those who said that they had not benefitted because of independence, said that (1) there had been no improvement in their own conditions or that of the village ; (2) there were more taxes ; (3) more worries, (what they were specifically, was not mentioned) ; (4) some said that the officers do not care for the poor people.

Those who said that they had benefitted from independence mentioned the following factors : (1) abolition of landlordism, consequently no "forced labour" ; (2) greater facilities for education, transportation, hence for progress ; (3) higher castes are not troubling the lower castes ; (4) improvements such as irrigation and roads ; (5) villagers can talk to any officer (more officers visiting the village now).

Table 46 :   Percentage Distribution of Population by Caste
According to Whether Independence is Considered
as Beneficial or Not

Opinion	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
No benefit from independence	38	63	57	78	56
Benefitted from independence	62	37	43	22	44
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	52	22	28	23	125

PANCHAYATS

When questioned as to whether they approved of the village
panchayat, 89 per cent answered in the affirmative. For the
judicial *panchayat*, 85 per cent approved while 15 per cent
did not. The following suggestions were made for improving
the *panchayats* so as to make them more effective : (1) greater
honesty among the members ; (2) more training for members ;
(3) only the literate should be allowed to be members ; (4)
they should undertake "more constructive work" (such as
building better roads, arranging for education of children).

PROBLEM SOLVING

"What do village people consider to be their problems ?"
"Who do they think should solve them ?" The purpose of
these questions was to discover to what extent they believed in
their own ability to solve their problems. Large number of
problems were listed by each of the groups. Many persons
listed more than one problem. The A group listed twenty-five
problems ; B group, sixteen ; C group, twelve ; and D group,
seventeen. The problems mentioned were economic, agri-
cultural, or personal. Poverty was mentioned most often
among the B, C and D groups while in the A group, unemploy-
ment was mentioned most frequently with poverty following.

Among the Brahmins twenty per cent said that they had
no problems. The following are the problems listed according
to highest number of mentions : unemployment, poverty, too
little land, insufficient food, no irrigation facilities, not enough
clothes, unable to study further, no education for children,
small house. The remaining problems were mentioned by one

person each : no bullocks, no wife, no improved implements, no consolidation of land, working far away from family, lower caste not respecting us, too much parental control, standard of living is low, father died when young, no ventilation in the house, sickness, "want to die soon".

Everyone in B group listed at least one problem : poverty, unemployment, insufficient money, not enough to eat, poorly constructed well, unable to study further, no wife, no food, no money, no well, sickness, debts, no clothes, no land, no house.

In C group, also, everyone mentioned at least one problem. The ones they mentioned were poverty, unemployment, no good house, no well, too little food, no land, not enough money, no house, no child, few clothes, "my daughter has run away".

In the D group, thirteen per cent said that they had no problems. The problems listed by them were similar to the others. They are arranged according to the highest number of mentions : poverty, unemployment, no wife, no child, large family, brother unemployed, son is not helping, no daughter-in-law, sons unemployed, no chaff cutter, house not good, weak bullocks, no sewing machine.

Table 47 : Distribution of Population According to Who They Think Should Solve Their Problems (by Numbers)

Caste Group	Number of Problems Listed	God	Government	Self	Panchayat	others	No Problems
A	58	26	16	4	1	11	10
B	39	31	6	1	...	1	...
C	48	37	10	...	...	1	...
D	31	15	7	5	...	4	3

In Table 47 an analysis is given of the views of the villagers as to who they thought could solve their problems.

The Brahmins mentioned a total of fifty-eight problems. Twenty-six of them they felt could be solved only by God, sixteen of them by government, four by themselves, one by the

panchayat, and eleven by "others", which included doctors, employing agencies, relatives, and wife. One person who had no wife said that any kind man with a daughter could solve his problem. The person who wanted to die soon is sixty-six years old and is a semi-invalid. He does not feel that he is serving any purpose by living.

In B group, thirty-one of the thirty-nine problems listed were to be solved by God, six by government, and one each by self-help and others.

Among the C group, forty-eight problems were mentioned, none of which they felt could be solved by themselves. Thirty-seven were to be solved by God, ten by government, and one by others.

The Muslims listed thirty-one problems, about half of which (fifteen) were to be solved by God, seven by government, five by individual efforts, and four by others.

From the information available, it would seem that there is a tendency among the villagers to believe that only a few of their problems can be solved by their own efforts. It would indicate a fatalistic attitude toward solving problems. In fact, only a few among the A and D groups felt they could take the initiative in solving their problems.

The villagers cannot be blamed altogether for having developed this attitude. A larger number of the villagers had tried to get jobs by going far outside the village but had not succeeded. Often, in spite of their labour and efforts, the crops have failed. The rains may not come in time or there may be pests. To arrange for irrigation among themselves would be costly. A tube well costs about Rs. 30,000 ($6,000) which the villagers cannot raise. Even an ordinary well costs around Rs. 1,000 ($200) but it would not be adequate. The problem of irrigation has become more painful since a village two miles away is now served by an irrigation canal system, whereas Sarangapur is not because it is situated on the "wrong" side of the railway track. Considering the day-to-day problems and the fact that, generally speaking, they get little help from any outside agency to improve their lot, it seems natural that they should develop a fatalistic attitude towards solving problems and life in general.

DISCUSSION

The problem that is being dealt with in the thesis is "change". In this chapter, some of the attitudes of the villagers have been discussed. There has been little empirical study regarding the attitudes of the village people, hence it is difficult to indicate exactly whether attitudes have changed. All that can be done is to compare the attitudes as presented, with those which are considered to be the values prevalent among the village people.

With regard to education, there is change since almost everyone in the village felt the need for it for boys. It is possible that the change in attitude with regard to education for girls is greater, since the status of women in rural areas is low. Co-education is still a matter of controversy, but a little more than half the population approve of it. This does indicate change since previously the view was that girls should be married as early as possible and that they should have little social contact with boys. In all these matters, a greater percentage of Brahmins than of the other groups seemed to have changed.

There was little doubt that there had been an increase in litigation and that the increase was bad for the village. The village people were travelling more than before. Whether this was good for the village was still debated. Almost all the Brahmins considered travelling on the part of the villagers as an asset.

Only eighteen per cent of the interviewees felt that religiosity among the villagers had increased in the last ten years, whereas sixty-one per cent opined that villagers were now less religious.

As for rituals and ceremonies, only one third felt there should be change ; the percentage of these being highest among the Brahmins and lowest in group C.

It is generally said that the village people live by traditions. However, the study indicated that fifty-three per cent felt that the best way to live was by planning the future.

More than half the interviewees indicated that the independence of the country had not brought any benefit for them.

When questioned about the problems that they had, all the groups listed similar types of problems. Only a few felt that

they could solve their own problems. The feeling prevalent in the village seemed to be "an unknown force controlling the destinies of men, and only that force can solve the problems". This is the traditional thought pattern and little change was observed among the villagers. Fewer Brahmins, as compared to the other groups, felt this way.

THE NEEDS OF THE VILLAGE

The needs as conceived by the individuals often determine their course of action. Further, the needs which the villagers indicated gave a clue to the level of their aspirations. One of the principles in extension work is that the extension workers should work with the felt needs of the people. From all these points of view, the author considered it useful to get an idea as to what the villagers considered their needs.

NEEDS AS CONCEIVED BY THE VILLAGERS

To determine the level of the aspirations of the villagers, the question : "What things do you feel that your village should build, obtain, or have during the next five years ?" was asked.

Altogether twenty-two items were listed. At least one Brahmin mentioned each of the twenty-two things whereas the members of the B group mentioned only thirteen, C group eight, and D group twelve. From the large number of things mentioned and the types of things listed, it was obvious that the level of aspirations was highest in A group and lowest in C group, with B and D groups in intermediate positions (see Table 48).

Tube wells were mentioned by 63 per cent of the total population. Irrigation of the fields was one of the major problems of the village. The low per cent of people listing tube wells in C group was due to the fact that few of them own land.

The nearest dispensary is five miles away. There was a quack doctor in Dandapur, located about a quarter mile away from Sarangapur, but few from the village went to him for treatment. During the period of the study, another "doctor" set up a dispensary in Dandi, about four miles from Sarangapur. People wanted a dispensary in the village itself.

The item listed next was a *pucca* road (concrete or tar) from the village to the main road.

A girls' school was mentioned by 38 per cent of the Brahmins. Among the other groups the desire for a girls' school was not great as only a few mentioned it.

There is no lighting arrangement in the village. Hence 21 per cent suggested having street lamps in the village.

In discussing the facilities, it was pointed out that there was no temple where the lower caste groups reside. Under the circumstances, the desire for a significant percentage (39%) of the people in C group for a temple was understandable.

Primarily the D group was interested in a post office. This may be due to the fact that many of their relatives left for Pakistan and since letters were delivered only once a week, there was delay in communication. Some of the Brahmins working outside the village were also interested in a post office.

An adult literacy class to be run at night was mentioned only by A group.

Among the other items mentioned were a drinking water supply, a bus stop, library, radio, veterinary dispensary, nursery school, irrigation facilities, seed storage, co-operative society, fire brigade, breeding bull, and consolidation of land.

Table 48 : Percentage Distribution of Population by the Needs Mentioned and by Caste

Needs of the Village	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Tube well (irrigation)	81	55	29	78	63
Dispensary	69	59	43	56	57
Pucca road (concrete or tar)	44	45	11	13	30
Girls' school	38	9	7	9	4
Light (kerosene)	15	27	25	22	21
Temple	10	14	39	...	15
Post office	8	...	...	26	8
Library	15	9	...	...	8
Radio	8	9	...	17	8
Adult literacy classes	19	...	...	...	8
Water supply (domestic)	4	4	14	9	7
Bus stop	6	5	...	17	6

Contd.

Contd.

Name of the Village	Gaste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Dharmashala (rest house)	4	9	4	4	5
Veterinary dispensary	6	...	...	4	3
Nursery School	4	4	...	4	3
Irrigation	6	...	...	...	2
Seed storage	4	9	...	...	3
Cooperative society	4	...	...	...	2
Fire brigade	2	...	...	...	1
Breeding bull	2	...	...	...	1
Pucca house (house of bricks)	2	...	...	...	1
Consolidation of land	2	...	...	...	1
N	52	22	28	23	125

A large number of pilgrims to Allahabad (which is a sacred place because two of India's largest rivers join there) passed by the village of Sarangapur. Some (5%) mentioned a *Dharmashala* (a rest place for pilgrims at little or no cost).

Fires in summer are rather common. The nearest fire brigade is in Allahabad, about eight miles away. Only 2 per cent mentioned a fire brigade unit.

To the question as to who should provide these things, most people felt that the government was responsible for providing the majority of them. The exceptions were radio, library, co-operatives, and street lamps, which the villagers felt should be secured for the village through the action of the *panchayat*.

NEEDS OF THE VILLAGE

Certain items were listed in the schedule and the villagers were asked to give their opinions as to whether it would be good to have them in the village or not.

Among the items listed there was general approval for a girls' school, a community centre, a factory, a doctor, a midwife, a weekly market. Ninety-three per cent disapproved of a liquor shop.

Many of those who approved of the girls' school said that they would send their daughters to the school if there was one. Those who felt that a girls' school was not good for the

village said that the education would make the girls lose their character.

Table 49 :   Percentage Distribution of Population
According to Whether They Consider the Items
Listed as Good or Bad for the Village

Items	Good	Not Good	No Response
Girls' school	91	8	1
Cinema house	28	66	6
Community centre	83	17	...
Factory	86	13	1
Doctor	97	1	2
Midwife	93	4	3
Liquor shop	6	93	1
Weekly market	89	7	4
Restaurant	37	53	10

A community centre was described to the people as a place where there would be a library, musical instruments, a radio, a place for meetings. Those who did not like it said that young people would waste their time in the place. A few felt that it would tend to break down further the rigidity of caste relations.

Many thought that a factory in the village would provide employment to villagers. Those who were not in favour of it said that agriculture would be neglected if a factory were to be installed. Some also felt that the labourers would not be available. The factories usually pay more than a landowner would pay to his hired hand.[1]

Those who disapproved of having a doctor in the village said that he would take away a large amount of money from the villagers. The *chamars* (whose wives act as midwives) were the only ones who did not favour having a midwife in the village since their extra earning would be stopped if a trained midwife was to come to the village.

Those who had shops said that they would have to face competition if a weekly market was to be installed in the village.

[1] Nearly fifty per cent did not know why a factory might be good for the village.

Only twenty-eight per cent said that it would be good to have a cinema in the village. The reasons given were as follows :

(1) It is good for recreation. (2) It will help in the spread of education. (3) It will provide an opportunity for women also to see the cinema.

The percentage of people who did not favour having a cinema house in the village was 66. The reasons given by them were : (1) It is a waste of time and money. (2) It might give wrong ideas to the women. (3) There was no money to visit it. (Fifty per cent of those interviewed had been to a cinema some time, while fifty per cent had not.)

A castewise analysis of those who disapproved of the cinema had the following distribution : group A, 61 per cent ; group B, 64 per cent ; group C, 74 per cent ; and group D, 67 per cent.

A little more than half the population (53%) felt it would not be good for the village to have a restaurant. The reasons given by them were : (1) it is bad for the discipline of the caste and religion. (2) People will waste a lot of money. (3) "We have no money to visit restaurants."

A castewise analysis of those who disapproved of the restaurant was as follows : group A, 48 per cent ; group B, 32 per cent ; group C, 61 per cent ; and group D, 52 per cent.

Thirty-seven per cent of the population looked with favour on having a restaurant in the village. They indicated the following advantages : (1) We can get food easily. (2) It would be useful when a wife is sick. (3) It is good for entertaining guests. (4) It will be a help for the unmarried people who have to do their own cooking.

A liquor shop was considered bad because it would affect the character of the people. Those who favoured having a liquor shop in the village said that they could get beverages more easily, instead of having to go some distance.

NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE

To the question "Do you want your village to be in National Extension Programme ?", 86 per cent said that they approved. It was thought that this programme would help in the development of the village by some, while others felt that

it would help them get better implements and improve their agricultural practices. Those who opposed it (8%) said that most government schemes were a waste of money or that it was merely propaganda with no real benefit. Six per cent did not know whether the National Extension programme in the village would be good or not for the village.

It must be pointed out that very few of the villagers had any clear idea as to what the National Extension programme was.

SUMMARY

Twenty-two items were listed by the villagers as those which they would like their village to have in the next five years. Each of these items was mentioned at least once by the Brahmins. Other groups did not mention as many things. The level of aspirations among the Brahmins was higher than in the other groups. The majority of these, the villagers felt, should be provided by government. A girls' school, a community centre, a factory, a doctor, a midwife, and a weekly market were considered as beneficial to the village. There was controversy over the question of whether a cinema house was good for the village or not. The majority considered that it was not good. More than half the population considered a restaurant as bad for the village, whereas more than a third felt that it was good. Almost all the people felt that it would be good for the village to be included in the National Extension programme.

CHAPTER XII

EXTENSIONS OF THE VILLAGE

In an article of a symposium "The Indian village"[1], Opler made the point that the involvement of the villagers with organisations, places, and events was considerable. He further stated that this had not interfered with the separate identity and cohesiveness of the community.

"Is the Indian village an isolate or are its social relations spread out widely ?" is a question that has been discussed a great deal. The present chapter examines the extensions of the village, Sarangapur, in an effort to answer the question that has been stated.

In the present study, it was fairly clear that the relations of the village with outside events, places, and organisations were quite extensive. Actually, great distances were covered. One person was working as far as one thousand miles away while his family stayed on in the village. He possessed land in the village and came home for vacations. There were others who were working as far as five to eight hundred miles away, but they maintained their relations with the village.

Apart from work, the villagers had to go outside the village even to fulfil certain basic needs. To get information as to how far the village relations extended, a question regarding places of work, schooling, where they went to see drama, where they got their barber, washerman, sweeper, shoe-maker, agricultural labourers, where they went for borrowing money, for purchases, for medical aid, and for repair of implements was asked. Information regarding the distance and the places where they had married and where their sons and daughters were married was also gathered.

Altogether, forty-six different outside places were mentioned where they got their services. These forty-six places do not include the villages in which they were married. In most cases

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[1] M. E. Opler, R. D. Singh, and S. C. Dube, "The Indian Village", *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, November, 1956, pp. 3-30.

the places mentioned were within a five mile radius of the village, except in the case of a few of those who were working outside the village.

The places visited by individuals, whether for pilgrimage or for their work, were not included. One person who had worked as a member of a crew on a ship had travelled to Colombo (Ceylon), Aden, Port Said (Egypt), and London (England).

As mentioned earlier, twenty-eight per cent of the population worked outside the village ; most of them had jobs either in Allahabad or in glass factories at Naini (three miles away) or at a military ordinance depot (three miles away) where ammunition was manufactured.

BORROWING OF MONEY

Since there were two people in the village (both Brahmins) who lent money, there was little need for villagers themselves

Table 50 : Percentage Distribution of Population by Places Where They Get Their Services

	Distance in miles	Food Grain	Vegetables	Grocery	Cloth	Jewellery	School*	Washerman	Repairs	Doctor	Drama	Agricultural labourers
Dandupur	0.5	...	...	...	...	...	43	...	...	2	...	
Champatpur	1.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38	...	...	
Bhandra	1.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	
Amelia	1.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	...	...	
Phatpur	2.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	8	...	...	
Bagbana	2.0	...	...	...	...	...	20	63	...	...	...	77
Naini	3.0	51	58	60	36	1	...	1	...	...	...	6
Karma	3.0	6	6	6	2	...	26	...	...	...	...	...
Agric. Inst.	5.0	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	10	...	
Allahabad	7.0	25	33	32	50	91	6	1	18	66		3

*Percentages based on the number of people going to school.

to go out of their village for borrowing purposes. A number of people from surrounding villages came to borrow money from them.

From Table 50 it will be seen that even for their day-to-day requirements, the village people have to go out of the village. Two of the most important places for marketing are Allahabad and Naini which are seven and three miles away respectively. For schooling, 43 per cent of those going to school go to a village about half a mile away. For witnessing drama they go to Bagbana about a mile away. This is only during the festival of *Dusserah* in October.

DISTANCE TRAVELLED FOR MARRIAGE

In Table 51 an analysis is given of the distances to which the population of the village went to marry or from which the bride came.

Table 51 : Percentage Distribution of Population by Distance of Place of Marriage and by Caste*

Distance in miles	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
1—10	39	67	95	72	68
11—20	26	40	24	17	23
21—30	13	7	...	17	8
31—40	87	...	...	...	26
41—50	13	...	...	...	5
51—60	...	7	...	...	1
61 and more	5	...	...	6	3
N	23	15	21	18	77

*a. Questions asked only of heads of household.
  b. Percentages will be more than 100 as most people had more than one son or daughter married.

Sixty-eight per cent of the population had married within a one to ten mile range. Among the C group 95 per cent had married within this range and among the Muslims 72 per cent. Among the Muslims there is no objection to marrying within

the same village whereas among the Hindus this is usually forbidden.

Among the Brahmins a very high percentage had married at places at a distance of thiry-one to forty miles. A large number had married from one particular village which is about thirty-five miles away.

Among the C group none went beyond the twenty mile range, whereas among the A, B, and D groups there were people who had gone beyond fifty miles.

The average distance of marriage areas in Uttar Pradesh villages is said to be twelve miles. Generally, the tendency among the lower castes is to marry in nearby places whereas the higher castes go farther. ✔

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

It has already been mentioned that there is no government agency within the village. The following are the places from which the nearest government services are available to the people.

Service	Place	Distance in miles
School	Dandupur	0.5
Agricultural Inspector	Bagbana	2.0
Nyay (Judicial) Panchayat	Nevti	2.0
Seed Store	Bagbana	2.0
Seed Store	Karma	3.0
Police Station	Ghurpur	3.0
Railway Station	Naini and Iradatganj	3.0
Veterinary Dispensary	Karma	3.0
Post Office	Karma	3.0
Lekhpal (Revenue Agent)	Pritibat kapura	4.0
Vaccinator	Arail	6.0
District Office	Allahabad	7.0
Medical Hospital	Allahabad	7.0
Courts	Allahabad	7.0
Veterinary Dispensary	Karchana	8.0
Tehsil (Sub-District Office)	Karchana	8.0
Courts	Karchana	8.0

The purpose of studying the ecology was to learn how far the extensions of the village are spread out. "... Social

anthropologists have relied pretty heavily on the intensive study of relatively isolated, small and functionally integrated communities as a basis for generalization about the total culture and society."[2] While there are elements in the Indian village which make it look like an isolated unit, studies have indicated that they have widely spreadout relations. Lewis, in his book *A North Indian Village,* says that the village he studied had established relations with about two hundred villages. Opler points out that village exogamy, customary work obligation, religion, particularly pilgrimage, marketing, education make it necessary for villagers to have social relations over a considerable area. In the study the extensive areas to which the villagers have to go have been shown.

✓ The increased means of transport, the new occupations which people are engaging in, and greater education indicate that there is greater contact with the outside world than before. The Indian village, to be understood must be studied in relation to all the areas where it has established relations outside the village and the reasons for these relationships.

Opler says that the village extension had not affected the cohesiveness of the village which he studied. It is difficult to say the same of Sarangapur. As indicated earlier, there does not seem to be a strong sense of community in the village. To understand the rural society, the village must be studied as a unit with the realization that it is not an isolate entity.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN SARANGAPUR

This section deals with the changes that are taking place in the village of Sarangapur. Chapter XIII discusses the theoretical aspects of the problem while Chapter XIV deals with the changes that have taken place in the village. In Chapter XV the reasons as to why people change are discussed.

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[2] Opler, Singh and Dube, *op. cit.,* p. 3 (Introduction by Milton Singer.)

CHAPTER XIII

THEORY

"The history of science testifies eloquently to the fundamental importance of the state of its theory to any scientific field. Theory is only one of the ingredients which must go into the total brew, but for progress beyond certain levels it is an indispensable one."[1] The basic reason why general theory is so important is that the cumulative development of knowledge in a scientific field is a function of the degree of generality of implications by which it is possible to relate findings, interpretations, hypotheses on different levels and in different specific empirical fields to each other."[2]

". . . it is only by systematic work on problems where the probable scientific significance has priority over immediate possibility of application that the greatest and most rapid scientific advances can be made."[3]

These quotations indicate the importance of theory in the development of sociology. "Social theory can be conceived of as a set of answers relevant to understanding human relations and social action.* Social theory is also considered as "any generalization concerning social phenomena that is sufficiently established scientifically to serve as a reliable basis for sociological interpretation."[4]

Theory gives stimulus for research. It gives research direction. Research which is guided by theory, can validate theory, modify theory, indicate conditions under which a theory will hold, or disprove the theory and consequently provide material for the development of a new theory.

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[1] T. Persons, *Essays in Sociological Theory*, Glencoe, Free Press, III., p. 348.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 352.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 368.

*From class notes under Professor William W. Reeder.

[4] *Dictionary of Sociology*, Littlefield, Adams & Co., p. 294.

THEORY WITH REGARD TO SOCIAL CHANGE

"The understanding of social change has been a persistent challenge to man. He has searched every corner of his universe for an explanation."[5] "Few, if any, of the problems of sociology have been more fascinating, more tantalizing, or more elusive than social changes."[6] There have been many theories which have tried to explain change. Miller lists the following[7] : Theory of Economic Materialism (Marx), Economic Theory of Socialization (Veblen), Division of Labour Theory (Durkheim), Social Differentiation Theory (MacIver and Page), Sociocultural Theory of Social Change (Tylor, Sumner, and Ogburn). To these could be added the works of Barnett, Malinowski, Herskovits, Julian Steward, Chapin, and Robert Redfield. Among the theories propounded which indicate the direction of the change in society are linear, stage, and cyclical conceptions.

In spite of such efforts, Miller concludes that "There is increasing recognition that a general theory of the process of change of social systems is not possible in the present state of knowledge."[8]

There is now a greater recognition of the fact that social change is a complex process and that it is difficult, if not impossible, to analyse change in terms of a single factor. Boskoff says that there is a marked concentration on social and cultural and psychological factors in social change rather than on the well worn biological, physical, and climatic factors.[9] He further stated that there is tendency among theorists concerned with social change to converge on explanation of social change.[10]

A MULTIPLE FACTOR THEORY*

The theory which the thesis proposes to study, as stated in the problem, is William W. Reeder's "A multiple Factor Theory

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[5] D. Miller, *Technology and Social Change*, 1957, Francis Allen, et. al., p. 72.

[6] A. Boskoff, ed., *Modern Sociological Theory*, New York, Dryden Press, H. Becker and A. Boskoff, 1957.

[7] D. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[8] D. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[9] A. Boskoff, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[10] A. Boskoff, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

* Also called "Theory of Directive Factors in Social Action".

of Social Action."[11]

"There are several questions which an adequate theory of human relations must answer. Among these are the following :

1. What Units are relevant to an understanding of human relations and social action ?

2. What are the characteristics of these units ?

3. Why do the units behave as they do ?

4. What are the products of these human relations and this social actions ?[12]

5. What processes are relevant to an adequate description of their behaviour ?

Within this frame of reference, the questions the present thesis is concerned with are : (1) What are the characteristics of the people who change, and (2) Why do they change ?

The theory states that several factors give a more adequate explanation than one or two of why people behave the way they do. The factors included are : opportunity, ability, expectation, goals and values, living comfortably with oneself in the face of conflict, support, self commitment, force, unusual shared experience, and habit, custom, and institutionalized behaviour.

THE MULTIPLE FACTOR THEORY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Theory does not explain specifically the phenomena of social change. It is theory which attempts to explain social action. Social action is any behaviour of an individual influenced by or directed toward other individuals, groups, or objects. Social change is composed of the cumulative actions of the individuals and groups and hence the theory should apply to social change.

Often in describing social change, the characteristics of the people who adopt changes are described and these characteristics are often imputed as causes. The multiple factor theory

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[11] W. W. Reeder, *Leadership Development in a Mormon Community,* A paper read at the Rural Sociological Conference, Ithaca, N. Y., Sept., 1959.

[12] W. W. Reeder, *A Multiple Factor Theory of Social Action,* Unpublished manuscript.

suggests that these characteristics are to be understood in terms of the factors listed in the theory.

Some of the factors induce change. Others restrict change. Some of the factors can act either as inducers of change or retarders of change. Opportunity and ability tend to induce change. The factor that restricts change is habit (also called custom or institutionalized behaviour). The remaining factors : support, force, expectations, goals and values, living with oneself in the face of conflict, self commitment, can act either as agents of change or retarders of change. Support may be for making a change or maintaining the *status quo*. Expectation may work either way. Individuals may be forced to change or may be forced to continue in set ways. In analysing social change, it is necesary not only to explain change, but also to explain why change does not occur.

CONCEPTS AND DIMENSIONS

1. *Opportunities*

Individuals and groups will participate in a particular form of social action in relation to the number and kind of opportunities which the social structure provides to participate in that activity.

This factor assumes differences in societies, subsocieties, organisations, and groups in the number of opportunities which they provide for members to participate in particular kinds of activities. While individuals and groups can be and sometimes are creative in developing opportunities in which to participate, in the main they tend to use those opportunities which are already available in the social structure.

Opportunities may actually exist in the social structure but be ineffective because the members are not aware of them or because they are not perceived as opportunities open to them. The distribution of the opportunities exist but are available only to a few members or to persons having particular positions or roles. The factor of opportunity deserves a place in the theory because it is frequently a salient variable necessary in explaining high or low participation when comparing individuals or groups.[13]

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[13] W.W. Reeder, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

The above description of opportunity is in terms of participation (social action) nevertheless the concept has important bearings for social action related to change.

The dimensions that are relevant to change are :
1.   Opportunity to observe
2.   Opportunity to learn or acquire knowledge
3.   Opportunity to act
4.   Number of opportunities
5.   Easy access to opportunity
6.   Distribution of opportunity
7.   Perception of opportunity
8.   Affective opportunities

Implications For Change :

The structure of the society in which an individual exists determines the number of opportunities that a person has for making changes. In a highly structured society such as a totalitarian or feudal society, the opportunities for change will be few. In societies that have the *gemeinschaft* characteristics, the opportunities will not be as many as in a *gesellschaft* type of society. The *gesellschaft* society provides anonimity for individuals which, in turn, gives the individuals more opportunity to act the way they design, but in a bureaucratic structure the opportunities for change are minimized.

A person is motivated to change when one has opportunities to observe new things. It is not sufficient for a person to be able to observe. He should have the opportunity of learning more about the aspect that he has observed so as to acquire confidence in the things that he has seen. Seeing and learning can result in action only when a person has the opportunity to act.

Opportunity is a factor that tends always to be positive in bringing about change.

2.   *Ability*

Individuals and groups will tend to participate in a particular activity when they are able or perceive themselves as being able to do what the situation requires. They will tend not to participate when they are not able to perceive themselves as not being able to do what the situation requires.

There are many factors which relate to ability/health, general intelligence, and economic or other resources.

Specialised activities require special knowledge or skills and a person not possessing these is unable to participate. The acquisition of them will enable him to do so.[14]

The above is suggestive of several dimensions which include:

1. Physical health as ability
2. General intelligence as ability
3. Economic wealth as ability
4. Special skills as ability
5. Special knowledge as ability

Two other dimensions may be added which help in explaining change :

6. Status of an individual as ability
7. Possession of land and other material resources as ability.

Implications For Change :

The family in India tends to be patriarchal. The father, because of his status, has greater ability than the others to make changes. The lower castes are often made to conform to traditional patterns of behaviour by the upper castes. The upper castes have the higher status and hence, the ability to dominate the lower castes.

Resources can be either of material nature or intellectual nature. Material resources can consist of possession of land, house, or car. Intellectual resources would be knowledge and skills. An individual may beaware that good seeds give better yields, but if he does not have land, he does not have the ability to use that knowledge.

3. *Expectations*

Individuals and groups tend to behave the way they feel they are expected to behave in a situation. They tend to also act towards others in terms of their expectations of them.

Human existence can be viewed as a chain or sequence of situations, each with its particular expectations. There are several kinds of expectations which influence the participation of individuals and groups. There are the self

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[14] W.W. Reader, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

images and self expectations and the expectations which others in the situation express or imply to the respondent ; there are the expectations of those to whom he or the group is responsible and of those for whom he is responsible ; there are the expectations which relate to the offices or positions which the person holds and there are the general expectations of the larger society.[15]

From the above, the following "kinds of expectations" may be derived as the dimensions :

1. Self expectation
2. Self-other expectation
3. Group expectations
4. Expectations of others
5. Position expectations
6. Situational expectations
7. Social category expectations

Implications for Change :

The expectation can act either as an inducer of change or retarder of change.

In certain positions, such as the president of the *panchayat*, a person is expected to make changes. The head of a caste is expected to conform to the caste rules and regulations. The very expectations prevent the head of a caste from trying to make changes, at least in certain areas in his life.

The lower castes are expected to behave with deference to the upper castes. They are not expected to make changes which the upper castes have not made. The members of the upper castes are expected to behave in such a way as to maintain the *status quo*, and to keep the lower castes in their positions. In a village, a person is expected to conform to the values of the rural society which tend to be traditional. Thus, expectations to conformity tend to prevent the individual from making changes. If an individual goes to the city or gains higher education, he would be expected to make changes. Expectation can act positively or negatively with regard to change.

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[15] W. W. Reeder, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

4. *Goals and Values*

Individuals and groups tend to promote, protect, and maintain their primary goals and values.

Sociologists, social psychologists, anthropologists have done a great deal of work on these factors under the headings of drives, wishes, needs, goals, values, interests, and beliefs. The term "goals" is used here to refer to the ends toward which the individual or group is striving, whether it be those of an ultimate nature or those which are instrumental in achieving larger end. "Values" refer to the beliefs which the individual has which influence him in his choice of goals. The beliefs may be those of the culture or may be gained from personal experience.[16]

The above description suggests many dimensions. Some of these are :

1. Drives
2. Wishes
3. Needs
4. Goals
5. Values
6. Interests
7. Beliefs

Implications for Change :

The values and the beliefs which an individual holds guide and direct his behaviour. These beliefs and values are not easily changed. The values and beliefs are usually of such a nature that they protect and maintain their interests. They often determine the needs.

To bring about change it is necessary to change the values. Unless a person believes in the change that he has made, he is not likely to continue the new pattern of behaviour. Often the lag between the new pattern of behaviour and the existing values results in conflict leading to maladjustment. An attempt to adjust might result either in reversion to the old behaviour, or in changes in the values, or in further changes.

Change in any one of the dimensions is likely to bring about changes in the other dimensions. The dimensions are closely related.

In some societies conformity may be considered the best way to protect and maintain the goals and values. In such societies change is likely to be slow.

5. *Living With Oneself in the Face of Conflict*

Individuals and groups tend to behave in such a way that they can live comfortably with themselves and their close associates.

While individuals can meet their needs, goals, values, and interests in socially approved and expected ways much of the time, there are other times in which the expectations and the individual or group desires are in sharp conflict. When the individual acts contrary to expectations or his values, he feels compelled to do something about it which will enable him to live comfortably with himself and his close associates. The adjustment mechanisms or dynamisms described by Freud and his adherents describe these forms of behaviour. Among the most common are rationalization, repression, projection, regression, aggression, displacement, sublimation, compensation, reaction formation and fantasy. Healthy and normal as protection to the personality and the group in small amounts, they become pathological if used in excess. These adjustment mechanisms are necessary to explain some behaviours and some social action.[17]

The dimensions of this factor are clearly indicated in the statement. They are :

1. Rationalization
2. Projection
3. Regression
4. Sublimation
5. Aggression
6. Substitution
7. Fantasy

Implications For Change :

"Adjustment mechanisms" indicate a change in behaviour. In discussing values, the possibility of conflict and maladjustment were indicated. Before the maladjustment reaches serious proportions, it becomes necessary to adopt one of the mechanisms

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17   W. W. Reeder, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

which are listed. While these adjustments may not be complete
solution to the problem, yet they will provide a basis for living
comfortably with oneself. The adoption of some of these mech-
anisms can result in change, *e.g.*, aggression, regression, substi-
tution, and sublimation.   The other mechanisms are not likely
to result in further change. Rationalization may be for continu-
ing an existing situation.   Projection and fantasy may prevent
any change in overt behaviour.

6. *Support*

"The concept of support is used in many different fields
of human relations with meaning similar to that herein used.
A father supports his family, or supports a son or daughter
in a college; a legislator indicates his willingness to support
and vote for a particular bill, the goverment and the courts
support and back the officers of the law ; air force and
artillery units support an infantry unit in an attack ; and a
foundation gives financial support to help initiate a new pro-
gramme. Agricultural price support is still another example.
All of these supports have a common factor.   Something is
contributed which increases the possibility for the individual
or group to cope with the situation.   The support involves
an input of resources, money, manpower, votes, or some
other factor. With the support, participation is deemed
possible ; without it, the activity may not be attempted.

"The concept is used in other situations with slightly
different, but closely related, meaning. A president operates
with greater assurance when he feels his members support
his action ; a participant feels the support of the friendly
approving smiles or the nod of agreement following a state-
ment. The scientist gains support from the feeling that he
can depend on his data ; a religious person finds support
from his beliefs and the feeling that God will help in time of
need. A committee member may feel the support of other
committee members and the fact that the organisation is
backing them. A participant draws support from the confi-
dence that he can do what is required, that his tools and
equipment are good and will be able to stand the test. These
latter examples show some factor is introduced which gives

the participant a feeling of confidence and a lessening of the feeling of risk in participation.[18]

The description of the concept given is in terms of participation. The relevance of this factor to change will be discussed under implications for change. The support factor suggests many dimensions:

1. Self confidence
2. Confidence in belief
3. Conformity to belief
4. Support of the family
5. Support of the caste (in India)
6. Support of the community
7. Confidence in the aspect changed (beliefs or material aspects)

Implications For Change :

Support in terms of social change refers to backing for a particular pattern of behaviour. The new pattern may be purchasing of a new thing or doing something differently than before. In an Indian village the individual is not entirely free to act in his own way. Whenever he wants to act in a new way, in which he may have full confidence, he still has to assure himself of the support of his family, his caste, and the community (village). The support from any of these may be either for making a change or not making a change.

One of the villagers had bought an improved plough. He was not using it. When questioned, he said that none in the village was using such a plough. Although he was convinced of the advantages of the improved plough, he did not want to behave differently from the other villagers. He felt that he would not have support from the other villagers if he behaved differently.

Support can be for making changes or for maintaining the *status quo.*

7. *Self-Commitment*

> *Individuals and groups tend to do those things which they feel they have committed themselves to do.*

Self-commitment in its most obvious form consists of a statement or act in which the individual or group involved

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18. W.W. Reeder, *Directive Factors in Social Action* (Ability & Support), Unpublished manuscript, p. 11.

intentionally indicates that they will or will not do some particular thing. This act of self-commitment engenders a whole series of expectations to the parties concerned. The marriage ceremony, contracts, agreements, the acceptance of membership in an organisation, the acceptance of an office or responsibility, or the statement of intention to do a particular thing are all examples of this type of self-commitment.

Another form of self-commitment is gradual and often not intended as commitment. It results from various forms of participation. The individual expresses an opinion on an activity or gives ideas, time, effort, or money to it. In rationalizing this help and support as justifiable, sensible, or correct to himself and others he becomes involved and committed. Others react to him as being committed and he gradually comes to act and feel that way himself.[19]

Several of the dimensions of this factor which may motivate the individual to behave in a particular way are :

1. Contracts
2. Agreements
3. Acceptance of membership in an organisation
4. Acceptance of office in an organisation
5. Expressed intentions
6. Expressed opinions and ideas
7. Providing ideas, effort, and financial aid.

Implications For Change :

In the nature of the contract or agreement there might be implicit the conditions for change or for continuing in an established pattern. Acceptance of membership in an organisation may automatically commit a person either to change or not to change depending on the objectives of the organisation. When a person expresses an opinion in public regarding a particular situation, he may be held to this opinion. By expressing an opinion he would have committed himself to behave in a particular manner.

Self-commitment can act either as inducer of change or retarder of change.

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[19]. W.W. Reeder, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

8. *Force*

Individuals and groups do those things which they are forced to do and for which they see no alternative.

There are some occasions when the participation of an individual or group in an activity is clearly a result of completely overpowering physical force. More often, however, there may be some alternatives but they are so unacceptable that they are not considered as such. The individual or group sees no alternative, so the participation, or lack of it, is described as forced. Another form of force is that of denial or prohibition either by law or societal and group norms. Exclusive organisations prohibit by their very exclusiveness. Organisations for men do not admit women and *vice versa*.

The dimensions suggested by the above description are :
1. Physical force
2. Law or societal prohibition
3. The only acceptable alternative
   To these could be added one more :
4. Force of circumstances, *e.g.,* sickness, accident, or election to an office.

Implications For Change :

Force can be negative or a factor that retards change. Many forms of social control can be considered as force. Pressures from family, group, caste, religious institution can prevent a person from behaving the way he wants to. A law can prohibit a particular form of behaviour.

Force can also act as a positive agent in bringing about change. Persons who accept certain kinds of occupations have no alternative to the expected pattern of behaviour of all who are engaged in that occupation. A law can force people to change their behaviour.

9. *Habits and Institutionalized Behaviour*

While an individual or group may adopt a particular form of behaviour for any one or a combination of the reasons given above, the behaviour pattern may soon become habitual for the individual or institutionalized for the group. Once established as a habit or institutionalized pattern, it may continue

even though the values, expectations, and supports which brought it into existence have changed.

The main reason for its present existence is that it has always been done that way. If unchallenged, it can continue for a long time with no rational support. If challenged, rationalizations supporting it are likely to develop. It may even be changed if a better alternative form of behaviour is found which is compatible and find strong support in the existing value system.[21]

Implications for change :

This is the only factor that acts only in a negative manner, *i.e.*, it acts as a preventive to social change. Rural ways tend to be traditional and customary. Such behaviour is not easily changed for it provides a sense of security. Any change that is in conflict with the institutionalized patterns of behaviour with regard to either the family or caste or religion, is generally resisted.

10. *Unusual Shared Experience*

When people share in some unusual events, such as floods and cyclones, these experiences will tend to make them behave in a different way. A village in India was almost completely destroyed by fire. The village had to be rebuilt. It was possible to rebuild the village as a model village with the consent of the villagers. Under catastrophic circumstances, it is easier to bring about change.

INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE FACTORS

The factors have been explained as though they are independent variables. The author of the theory points out that "In most situations, not one but several factors are operative and tend to produce a cumulative effect."[22] It was indicated earlier that the tendency at present is to explain social change in terms of many factors. An individual may have opportunity, but not ability. He may have opportunity and ability but might feel that he might not have support. One must not lose sight of the interdependence of the factors in understanding or analysing any aspect of human behaviour.

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[21] W. W. Reeder, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
[22] Class Notes under Dr. W. W. Reeder.

LIMITED APPLICATION OF THE THEORY

The data available in this study are not adequate to discuss all the factors that are mentioned in the theory. The data in the study of Sarangapur make it possible to discuss five of the ten factors. These five are opportunity, ability, force, support, and institutionalized behaviour. Further, the data are not conducive to a statistical analysis of each of the factors in the theory hence only an explanation of social change in terms of the theory will be attempted.

It has already been stated that the present study is an attempt to explain social change. Two of the questions that contribute to an analysis of social change are :

1. What are the characteristics of the units that change ?
2. Why do the units behave the way they do ?

CHAPTER XIV

CHANGES IN THE VILLAGE

This chapter includes a description of the changes that were made, a description of the agents of change, the characteristics of the people who have made the largest number of changes and the relationships of these characteristics to the number of changes that were made.

I. THE CHANGES

Food, Clothes, and Footwear

Only twelve per cent had changed their food habits. Eating in hotels and with everyone, regardless of caste, was the major change indicated. Some of the other changes with regard to food were : (1) drinking tea, (2) eating meat, and (3) eating onions. Meat and onions are forbidden foods in some castes.

A little more than one-quarter of the population (26%) had made changes in the clothing patterns. The changes were the wearing of western type clothing (shirts, sport shirts and pants) and the use of mill cloth instead of homespun cloth.

Thirty per cent of the population who were not wearing shoes earlier, has begun to use them.

Personal Habits

Historically, the village people have not shaved themselves. The barber shaves them. At the time of the study, however, twenty-nine per cent said that they were shaving themselves.

Fifty-five per cent used soap and forty-four per cent were using oil to comb their hair.

Purchases in the last ten years

The purchases made in the last ten years are another indication of the material changes that have taken place.

Forty-three per cent had bought bicycles; nineteen per cent, watches; four per cent, clocks; four per cent, petromax (kerosene pressure lamp); three per cent, harmonium (a sort of hand-

organ; and one per cent, sewing machines. One person had bought, apart from some of the things mentioned, a *palki* (a chair used for carrying brides and bridegrooms), coloured sheets to cover floors, and a gun.

Agricultural Practices

Only the Brahmins and the members of the B group had land. They were the only groups to adopt improved agricultural practices.

The improved implements that were purchased were chaff cutter (23%), improved plough (13%), and hand hoe (4%).

The improved practices, adopted were improved seeds (10%), green manuring (9%), compost manuring (30%), and fertilizers (39%).

Only five per cent of the population had adopted practices which would improve their livestock (castration, artificial insemination).

The *chaff cutter* is a hand operated machine for cutting fodder. The *improved plough* refers to a plough with a steel blade instead of a wooden blade. The *hand hoe* is an improved implement used for hoeing. Various types of *improved seeds* are recommended for wheat, corn, pulses, etc., by the Department of Agriculture and they are sold in government seed stores. *Green manuring* is growing a legume and turning it into the soil before the crop is sown. *Compost manuring* has been advocated for quite some time in an effort to get people to use cow dung for manure purposes. The *fertilizer* most used in Sarangapur is ammonium sulphate. The improved practices with reference to *livestock* were castration and artificial insemination.

Most of the changes adopted were advocated by the Agricultural Department. Some of these practices and implements had been demonstrated at the Annual Farmers' Fair arranged by the Allahabad Agricultural Institute on the premises. Most of the people who adopted the use of fertilizers had seen others in the village using it.

All of these improved implements and seeds were available within a radius of about eight miles. In fact, most of them were bought at Naini (three miles away). One person had bought a chaff cutter about six hundred miles away where he was

stationed for his military service. He bought it there as he did not know whether they were available in Allahabad or not.

Period of Adoption

Table 52 gives information regarding the number of years the adopted practices have been in use.

Table 52 : Percentage Distribution of Population According To The Number of Years Since The Improved Practices Were Adopted.

Improved Implements	Number of Years Using					
	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9 or more	Don't Know
Chaff cutter	6	45	33	11	...	6
Improved plough	20	20	20	...	30	10
Hand hoe	66	...	...	...	...	34
Improved seed	...	88	...	...	12	...
Green manure	14	14	29	43	...	...
Compost	...	52	30	9	4	4
Fertilizer	17	57	17	3	3	3
Livestock	75	25	...	...	...	...

Most of the improved practices had been adopted during the last three to six years. While there were some who had an improved plough nine or more years ago, a few had just bought them. Eighty-eight per cent of those adopting the "improved seed programme" adopted it in the last three or four years. There is no particular peak period in the acceptance of green manure. The compost pit was generally accepted during the last three to six years. More than half the population started using fertilizers three to four years ago. The livestock improvement seems to be just starting.

The study was made in 1958. It seems that the rate of change had increased in the last six years, more particularly in the years 1953-1956. This was the period during which the Allahabad Agricultural Institute was running an extensive extension programme in about four hundred villages. Sarangapur was on the fringe of the project area but not in it. The research helper had worked as a village level worker in this project. The contact of the village people with the Agricultural Institute, the adoption of new practices in the surrounding villages seems to

have set in a process of diffusion and accelerated the rate of change in this village.

Agricultural Yields

To the question : "Do you feel that the farm produce in your village has increased in the last ten years ?", fifty-two per cent replied that it had increased, 44 per cent responded by saying that it had decreased, and four per cent did not know.

Those who felt that there had been an increase in the yields indicated that the most important reason was that people now work harder at agriculture than ever before. The change had come about because people had realized that by working hard and adopting new practices, the yields could be increased. Further, the population had increased and it had become a necessity to increase the yields in order to maintain the increased population. Among the other reasons which they gave were improved implements, improved seed, and the use of fertilizers.

Failure of monsoon was the cause given by most of those who felt that the yields had decreased. Other reasons mentioned were financial difficulties which prevented them from buying improved implements and fertilizers, lack of irrigation, facilities, and unhealthy fertilizers. One or two said that this was *kaliyug* (period of evil) and so there should naturally be a decrease in agricultural yields.

II.   AGENTS OF CHANGE

In this part an attempt is made to pull together the various agencies that made people in the village change their behaviour.

As has been said earlier, there was no external agency which was trying to introduce changes and yet it was observed that changes had taken place in almost every aspect of life in the village. Who were the agents that made people accept change ? Most of the information in this chapter was gathered by asking further questions about why they bought a certain thing or why they had changed a particular habit. Some of the reasons or incidents have been previously described. The effort here is to put them together, in order to understand the various factors that helped to bring about change.

The incidents have been described as they provide the

anecdotes for explaining social change in terms of the factors of the theory.

Agricultural Aspects

The question to the person who bought the first chaff cutter was, "What made you buy the chaff cutter ?"

"I was attending a case in court. My name had not been called. I was getting restless as it was getting late. One of the persons sitting near me noticed my restlessness and asked me the reason. I said that I had not yet cut the fodder for the cattle and it would take quite a lot of time. He then asked me if I did not have a chaff cutter. As I did not have one, I asked him to explain what it was. On my way back, I went with him to his village and saw the machine. The next day I bought one." He may not have actually bought it the next day—but it must have been pretty soon after the incident.

"Why did you begin to use improved seeds ?"

"I work in government seed store. I know they are good. As I work in the store they are easily available to me any time I want them and so I use them."

"Where did you first see the fertilizer used ?"

"I saw it in my own village, being used by . . . I noticed that his crops were better than mine. So I began to use it." The person who used fertilizers before anybody else in the village had seen it used in a neighbouring village.

"I see that you possess an iron plough."

"Yes. I go to the Farmer Fair at the Allahabad Agricultural Institute. Every year they give a demonstration of this plough. It does plough deeper. Moreover, it is not too costly."

Some Material Aspects

"What made you buy a clock ?"

"My son goes to college. He said that he did not always get there in time as he had to guess the time. So it was necessary to buy a clock."

There were others who had bought a watch or clock because of their being employees in a factory and having to be in time for their work.

The first chair was bought in the village about twenty years ago. The person who bought it had seen it in another village

to which he had gone to attend a marriage. He seemed to have bought it because it was a sort of novelty to have.

One of the college students said that his classmates came to visit him and he felt that he had to offer them a chair, so he bought one.

During the period of the study, one of the villagers bought a bicycle. When asked as to why he bought it, he gave the following reason.

"I am digging a well. It is possible for me to get a grant towards building it from the government. I have applied to the government for this grant. To be able to get the application for the grant accepted, I had to go to the *panchayat* inspector, who is sixteen miles away, then to the *Tehsil Office* which is eight miles away, and to the District Office which is eight miles away. There is no regular bus service and it was too much to pay the *ekka* (horse drawn carriage). I figured that in the long run the bicycle would be cheaper. Moreover, it is something that would belong to me."

"How is it that you purchased a 'primus' stove ?"

"I am not married. I have to cook my own food. It is too much of a nuisance to use a firewood oven. With the stove it is less troublesome and quicker."

"Why are you buying a gun ?"

"It will be useful to fire blanks during marriage time. It gives a sense of security as there have been many robberies lately."

Other villagers felt that the gun was bought more because of the prestige it gave the owner than its us. One villager put it, "Seventy-five per cent prestige, twenty-five per cent usefulness."

Personal Habits

"What made you begin shaving yourself ?"

"I work in the military. We are always to be neat. Everybody shaves himself in the army, so I started also. It has now become a habit, hence I continue to do it even in the village when I come on vacation."

A couple of students who had stayed in hostels said that they started to shave as the other students were doing.

People had begun to wear shirts and pants since they were working in a factory, in the army, or studying in a college. The

same factors were mentioned in connection with the use of shoes. One person working in the army said, "We cannot be in the army without wearing shoes."

"You say that you do not mind eating with anybody. How can a Brahmin do it ?"

"I am working in railways. I am always on the move. I have to eat anywhere and everywhere. I cannot wait to find out who is the cook and who the owner. So I just go ahead and eat. All sorts of people travel in the trains anyway."

Those who worked in the army and one or two college students expressed similar views.

A person who was preparing egg flip (egg nog)—egg beaten up in milk, said that this was prescribed by the doctor. As long as something has been prescribed by the doctor, it is medicine. Medicine can contain anything. It is not against caste rules to take medicine.

Some Other Aspects

"What made you open a shop? This is not an occupation of your caste."

"My son is lazy. He would not do any other work. I opened the shop so he could at least do something. Now he has a job in the city. So I look after the shop, especially when there is not much agricultural work. As for the caste, if you go to Allahabad you will see Brahmins working in shoe shops."

"What has Independence meant to you?"

"If not for Independence, the Brahmins would never have allowed us to sit in the same panchayat with them. Now we can talk back to them. They give us less trouble now." A Brahmin who was with the author at the time said, "Before Independence he would not have dared to make that statement before me."

The panchayat appealed to the hospital, which sent its mobile dispensary to a village further along the road, to have a stop for half an hour at Sarangapur. The authorities agreed, so every Friday women[1] of Sarangapur and nearby villages wait to be examined and to get medicines. Very few women would go to the doctor if such a facility is not available.

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[1] The hospital from which this mobile dispensary came was mainly for women and maternity cases.

These, then, are some of the agencies: the law courts, the other villages and villagers, farmers' fairs, employment in seed store, employment in military or railways service,[2] college education, the need to visit government offices (or digging a well), laziness of a son, the desire for prestige, independence, opportunity for utilisation of facilities available to others (passing of the mobile dispensary through the village), and being single.

These are the agencies that give the rural society its dynamism and help bring about changes even where there is no external organisation which is consciously trying to bring about change.

Most of the instances cited, clearly indicate that the influence for change was more from without rather than from within. The hypothesis 'the major force for change is contact with outside world' is tenable.

III. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PEOPLE WHO CHANGE

In a rural society in India, the aspects that determine the status of an individual are caste, age, the size of land holdings, level of education, income and the type of occupation. In this part of the chapter the purpose is to show the relationship between these characteristics and the number of changes that the individuals have adopted. It was found the higher castes adopted large numbers of practices than the lower castes. Higher income and larger land holdings resulted in a larger number of practices being adopted.

Caste

In table 53, a castewise analysis of the people who have made the changes is given.

Table 53 : Percentage Distribution of the Population According to the Changes Made and by Caste.

Change	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Food	21	11	4	...	12
Clothes	39	24	18	13	26

[2] While everyone employed in military service had made changes, this was not true of those who worked in railways.

Table 53 (continued)

| Change | Caste Group | | | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total
Shoes	50	24	7	26	30
Shave at home	31	14	32	35	29
Use soap	62	50	50	52	55
Comb and oil	62	27	36	41	44
*Cycle	87	40	11	28	43
*Watch	35	20	...	22	19
*Clock	13	...	...	...	4
*Petromax	9	...	...	6	4
*Harmonium	9	...	...	...	3
*Sewing Machine	4	...	...	...	1
*Chaff cutter	30	7	...	...	23
*Improved plough	43	...	...	...	13
*Hand hoe	13	...	...	...	4
*Impoved seed	35	...	...	...	4
*Green manuring	30	...	...	...	9
*Compost manuring	70	67	...	...	30
*Fertilizer	100	67	...	...	39
*Livestock improvement	17	...	...	...	5
Total N	52	22	28	23	125
Head of Household N	23	15	21	18	77

*Asked only of heads of household.

From the table two things are obvious :

1. The A group or the Brahmins adopted more changes than the other groups.

2. Among the changes which were adopted by all the groups, a larger per cent of Brahmins than the other groups adopted these changes. The lowest per cent of people making changes was in C group.

Age

In India age is respected. As a result, the younger people do not have much opportunity to act on their own. Except in the case of personal habits, no differences were found among the younger and the older generations. Table 54 gives the

percentage distribution of those making changes in personal habits and by age.

Table 54 : Percentage Distribution of Those Making Changes in Personal Habits and by Age

Personal Habit	Below Thirty Years	Thirty-one Years and Over	Overall Percentage of Population Changing
Food	17	7	12
Clothes	41	14	26
Footwear	41	21	30
Shave oneself	37	21	29
Use soap	75	38	55
Use comb	58	28	44

In each aspect the percentage of people making changes below thirty years of age is about twice as much as those over thirty-one years of age. In this aspect of personal habits the hypothesis "the rate of change is greater among younger people" seems valid.

Education, Income, Land holding, and Occupation

A larger percentage of Brahmins were literate, had an income of more than Rs. 100, possessed more than ten *bighas* of

Table 55 : Showing the Percentage Castewise Distribution of Literates With Incomes More Than Rs. 100, Land Holdings of More Than Ten *Bighas*, and Occupation of Second or Higher Category*

	Caste Group				
	A	B	C	D	Total
Literates	78	35	18	48	54
Income More Than Rs. 100	69	7	...	33	30
More Than Ten *Bighas*	69	7	5	6	27
Occupation of Second or Higher Category	87	66	5	84	70

*The basis of determining the category of the occupation is given on page 161.

land, and were engaged in occupations in the second or higher category.

The correlation between each of the factors in the table and the number of changes made was significant. The method the correlations were worked out is described in the following pages.

Only the Hindu heads of the households have been analysed. Some of the individuals who were not heads of the households had no income. At other times, the income mentioned by the heads of the households was inclusive of the earnings of all the individuals in the family.

The Muslims were not included, as many of the attitudes which could be considered "change" among the Hindus, could not be considered so among the Muslims, (e.g. Any person is allowed to go to a mosque. The question whether low caste people should be allowed to enter temples would have little meaning for them.) Further, they have few restrictions on commensuality as compared to the Hindus.

In the present analysis the amount of land owned is not included in analysing the relations between change and the "status" items. More than one-third (about 38%) of the Hindu heads of households did not own any land.

Another reason for omitting land from among the status items was because the correlation between the size of holding and income was .55. The t value of 3.9 was significant at the ·001 level.

Changes in Agricultural Practices

Since the size of land holdings was not included, the improved agricultural practices adopted by the individuals who owned land could not also be included in computing the change score. However, the r value for the changes made with regard to agricultural practices and the size of the land owned was calculated. One point was given to those who had one to five acres of land, two points for those who had six to ten acres of land, and so no.

Adoption of any improved agricultural practices was given score of one. The improved practices were : use of improved seeds, improved implements, line sowing, fertilizers and green manuring.

The correlation between the size of land holding and the number of practices adopted was .44. The t value of 2.9 was significant at the .01 level.

The greater the size of land holding, the greater the number of improved agricultural practices adopted.

Scores for Other Items

In order to find out the relationship between the number of changes and the status items, the following scheme for scoring was adopted.

Income : If the income was Rs 1—50, the score was one, two if it was 51—100, and so on.

Occupation : The occupations were divided into four categories. An individual who was an agricultural labourer or an unskilled factory worker was placed in category one and given a score of one. If a person was placed in category four, he got a score of four. One of the guiding factors in working out the categories was the hierarchical rankings of occupation based on caste. It must, however, be noted that arbitrary judgments were necessary at times in placing the individuals in a particular category.

Education : An illiterate person was given a score of zero. A person who was literate had a score of one ; one who had completed primary school, two ; grade school, three ; more than grade school, but less than high school, four ; and completion of high school, five. There were no heads of households who had gone beyond high school.

Scores for Changes

The changes made by the individuals were divided into material and attitudinal aspects. Each change in a material aspect was given a score of one. The material changes included : (1) purchases of new things such as bicycles, watches, tables, chairs, made in the last ten years ; (2) changes in personal habits such as wearing of new type of clothes, changes in diet, use of shoes, each of which was also given a score of one. The highest score attained was eighteen.

Measuring changes in attitudes is difficult. What is considered change by one person may not be considered a change by other persons. In the present study, if the following opinions

were expressed, the individual was considered to have made a change in his attitudes.

1. There is need for change in rituals and ceremonies.
2. One's children should have more education than oneself.
3. Girls should be educated.
4. Boys and girls can go to school together.
5. *Harijans* (low caste people) should be allowed to enter temples.
6. No action should be taken if a member of the family or of the caste took food with those outside the caste.
7. No action should be taken if a member of the family or caste married outside the caste.
8. Planning for the future is the best way to live.
9. The problems of the individuals and the village should be solved by the individuals, villagers, or the *panchayat*.
10. The eldest male member of the family need not necessarily be the head of the family.

When an individual expressed any of these views, he was given a score of one. The highest score in attitude change was nine.

The Correlations

Material aspects :

The relationships between the status items and the changes was measured by calculating the Pearsonian "r". Table 56 gives the correlations between income, occupation, education, and changes in material and attitudinal aspects.

Table 56:

	(r values)			(t values)	
	Material	Attitude		Material	Attitude
Income	.82	.41	Income	10.9	3.5
Occupation	.62	.59	Occupation	6.2	5.9
Education	.85	.61	Education	12.2	6.1

There is a high correlation between the income and the material changes. Greater income provides greater ability to buy more things. The t value of 10.9 is very much higher than the value required to be significant at the .001 level. The higher the income, the greater the change in material aspects.

The correlation between the status of the occupations and the material changes is also high. This is partly explained by the

fact that higher status occupations provide better incomes. The t value was significant at the .001 level.

The highest correlation among the variables examined was found between education and the material changes, the r being .85 and the t value 12.2. Higher education may mean a better occupation, which in turn may mean a higher income. It may be that higher education provides opportunities for seeing more things and a greater desire to possess them.

Attitudinal Changes

The correlation between the attitudes and the status items is not as high as for the changes in material aspects. The highest correlation was found between the education and attitude changes. The higher the education, the greater the change in attitudes. Part of the explanation may be that three of the questions with regard to attitude changes had to do with education.

The status of the occupation and the attitude changes are also correlated fairly highly. An occupation in the higher category usually means greater contact with the outside world. This may have broadened the outlook of the individuals resulting in changes in their attitudes.

The correlations between the income and changes in attitude was the least among the items tested, but the t value was significant at the .001 level.

The following conclusions can be drawn with the data presented in this part :

1. The higher the caste, the greater the number of changes.
2. The higher the income, the greater the number of changes.
3. The higher the status of a person's occupation, the greater the number of changes.
4. The higher the education, the greater the number of changes.
5. The younger the age, the greater the number of changes in personal habits.
6. The larger the land holding, the greater the number of improved agricultural practices adopted.

CHAPTER XV

WHY DO PEOPLE CHANGE

One of the central questions raised in the thesis is : "Why do people change ?" In an effort to answer this question, the characteristics of the people who made the largest number of changes were described. It was suggested in Chapter XIII that the cause of change cannot be imputed to the characteristics, but that these characteristics need to be understood in terms of the factors listed in the multiple factor theory.

It was also stated that the data are not adequate for a statistical analysis, hence the theory will be used only to explain the changes. Further, all the factors in the theory cannot be discussed because the data are restricted only to certain factors. Even in each of the factors only a few of the dimensions mentioned can be dealt with. The characteristics which have been described in the previous chapter will be analysed in terms of some of the factors in an attempt to explain the changes that have occurred in Sarangapur.

OPPORTUNITY

Age is respected in rural societies in India. The younger people have little opportunity to make decisions in matters of the family or even some matters of personal concern. The only exception is the personal habits which do not affect the rest of the family, caste, or community. Younger age means few opportunities to make changes.

The behaviour of the individual in Indian villages has to be in conformity with the rules and regulations of the caste. The lower castes have fewer opportunities than the upper castes. The upper castes, because of their status, can control the behaviour of the members of the lower caste, thereby restricting the opportunities. The upper castes wish to maintain their *status quo* and hence, always try to obstruct any changes that the lower castes try to make. The lower castes make fewer changes as they lack many opportunities.

The upper castes do not have these restrictions and hence, have greater opportunity to make changes. The distribution of the opportunities is in favour of the upper castes.

A law has been passed which allows members of all castes to enter temples. Seventy-five per cent of the lower castes said they were not allowed to enter temples. The opportunity was there but the majority of the lower castes had not perceived it.

Education provides the opportunity to observe and to learn. The villagers had to go outside their own village for getting an education. This outside contact in itself provided opportunities to observe and to learn new things from other students. The education which was given provided them with new ideas and new knowledge, thus giving them greater opportunity for change. The higher the education, the greater the opportunity for change.

Occupations of the higher categories were usually outside the village. This provided opportunities for observing and learning new things. It also meant more freedom for the individuals to act the way they desired, hence greater opportunity to change. Within the village they were subject to the surveillance of the other villagers. Outside the village anonymity provided the opportunity to avoid the consequences of disregarding accepted patterns of behaviour. Occupations outside the village have greater opportunity to change.

The people who had occupations of the lower category were more or less confined to the village. The opportunities they had for meeting outside people or seeing new things were restricted. Unless a person has opportunity to see and learn new things, he cannot be motivated to change.

Without land a person does not have an opportunity to adopt improved agricultural practices. Only a few of lower castes had land, hence the opportunities for adopting new agricultural practices were limited.

ABILITY

Status of the individual in a rural society is based on one's age. The person who bought the chaff cutter could not have done it as quickly were he not the head of the family. In a joint family pattern, headship of the family is related to age.

Unless an individual feels that he has support from some source or other for undertaking the changes that he desires, he is not likely to change his ways. The greater the support one has for changing, the greater the change.

FORCE

Force is a form of compulsion. The younger people were compelled by the older people to conform to set patterns of behaviour. For younger people, force acts as a negative factor in bringing about change.

Caste is a system in which the rights and the obligations are clearly defined. The obligations are related to everyday behaviour. Conformity to these obligations is compulsory if an individual wishes to take advantage of the rights and also have the support of the caste. Many individuals said that left to themselves, they would have no objection in eating food or drinking water with anybody, but the caste rules prohibited them. The caste system thus forced people to conform. From this point of view the larger number of changes made by the upper castes may have to be interpreted more in terms of the other characteristics that have been described : income, education, size of land holding, and occupation, rather than the caste.

In Sarangapur the situation was more complicated because the upper castes were the employers of the lower castes. Thus the upper castes had a double hold on controlling the behaviour of the lower castes, the status of their own castes, and the role of employer.

The individuals who worked in the army had no choice but to wear the uniform given by the army. They had little choice with regard to diet. Many of their personal habits had to be changed. Those who took to shaving themselves, wearing western type clothing, and wearing shoes were often forced to do so by the nature of the occupation they were engaged in. A factory worker was forced to buy a watch in order to get to the factory in time.

Age and caste are forces which are negative in bringing about change. New occupations tend to be a positive force in bringing about a change.

INSTITUTIONALIZED BEHAVIOUR

Members are elected to the panchayat and all have equal rights. In a meeting of the panchayat, members of the

panchayat belonging to the lower castes sat on the ground while the upper caste sat on cots. This has always been the pattern, the lower castes having a lower place to sit in village meetings and ceremonies. Institutionalized pattern of behaviour is conformed to even in a new situation.

Observance of certain rituals, festivals, and customs is institutionalized behaviour. When the villagers were asked to explain why they perform certain rituals or observe some festivals, the only answer they gave was that it had been done in the past and they continued to follow the pattern. There was no attempt to rationalize or understand the behaviour.

Institutionalized behaviour always retards change. The greater the conformity to institutionalized behaviour the less the change.

INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE FACTORS

Each of the factors in the theory can be treated as independent variables, but this does not deny that there is an interdependence among them. For a person to act in a particular way, opportunity alone may not be sufficient, he may also have to have ability and support. Force or institutionalized behaviour should not prevent him.

The individual who bought the chaff cutter had to go to the court (force) which provided an *opportunity* to learn about the chaff cutter. He realized the need for it (goals and values). He had the opportunity to act as he was the head of the family. He had the *ability* for he could afford to purchase one.

An individual had the opportunity to accept a job. He had the ability (necessary skills) but his family did not approve (support) of his taking the particular job. He did not take the job. The relationships among the various factors must not be lost sight of in understanding the behaviour of the people.

The characteristics of the people who made largest number of changes have been analysed in terms of the multiple factor theory. Particular characteristics can mean opportunity, ability, or force. Others may mean support or institutionalized behaviour. Some of the characteristics can be analysed in terms of many of the factors in the theory. It is in analysing the characteristics in terms of the factors of the theory that the changing behaviour of the individuals in the village of Sarangapur can be understood.

CHAPTER XVI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS

The study of Sarangapur, a village in North India, was undertaken with a view to:

(1) giving a descriptive picture of the life of a village in North India, which would incidentally also provide a base line for studying changes taking place in the village at a later date;

(2) understanding the changes and the process of change taking place in the village at the present time; and

(3) using the multiple factor theory of directive factors in social action in explaining the changes taking place in the village as a sensitizing theory.

Sarangapur was chosen because : (1) it was easy to establish rapport because of earlier contact, (2) it has the characteristics of a modal village, and (3) it was a small village, enabling the study of the village in its totality.

All the adult males were the universe. Ninety-one per cent of the universe was interviewed.

The major source of the data was the information which was collected through a schedule administered to the population at an interview. Participant and non-participant observation method was used to supplement the data. Information on specific situations was collected through informants.

The population was grouped into four categories: Brahmins, other touchables, scheduled castes and Muslims; and designated as groups A, B, C, and D respectively, for purposes of analysing the rate of change in the different groups.

Changes were occurring in most aspects of the life of the villagers. The aspects that were changing were family life, inter-caste relations, occupational patterns, physical mobility, material aspects (such as agricultural aspects, furniture, food habits, clothing patterns, footwear), means and extent of social control,

attitudes (regarding education, education for girls, co-education, age of marriage, religion, outlook on life, solving problems of the community and the individuals).

The largest number of changes, both material and attitudinal, was among the Brahmins; the lowest was among the scheduled castes. Little difference in the percentages of people making changes was found between the younger and the older generations. Only in the case of personal habits was the rate of change greater among the younger generation.

The following conclusions are drawn after the correlations between the characteristics of the population and the number of changes made were calculated:

1. The higher the caste, the greater the number of changes.
2. The higher the income, the greater the number of changes.
3. The higher the status of a person's occupation, the greater the number of changes.
4. The higher the education, the greater the number of changes.
5. The larger the land holding, the greater the number of agricultural practices adopted.
6. Except in the case of personal habits, the rate of change was not greater among the younger generation.

The multiple factor theory of directive factors in social action was used as a sensitizing theory to explain the changes taking place in the village. The theory states that several factors give a more adequate explanation than one or two as to why people behave the way they do. The theory does not specifically deal with social change. It is a theory which attempts to explain social action. Social change is composed of the cumulative action of the individuals and groups, hence the theory should apply to social change. The theory suggests that the characteristics of the individuals who change are to be understood in terms of the factors listed in the theory namely, opportunity, ability, expectation, support, force, living comfortably with oneself in the face of conflict, goals and values, self commitment, habits, customs, and institutionalized behaviour, and unusual shared experiences.

Some of the factors induce change. Others restrict change. Opportunity and ability tend to induce change. The factor that

restricts change is habit (institutionalized behaviour). The remaining factors can act as either agents of change or retarders of change. In analysing social change, it is necessary not only to explain social change but also to explain why change does not occur.

The data were not adequate to discuss all the factors in the theory. Only five of the factors: opportunity, ability, support, force, and institutionalized behaviour were used to analyse the characteristics (caste, age, income, education, size of land holdings, and status of the occupation) of the people. Most of the characteristics could be analysed in terms of more than one factor listed in the theory. From such an analysis the following conclusions were suggested:

1. The greater the opportunity for change, the greater the change.
2. The greater the ability for making change, the greater the change.
3. The greater the support for making change, the greater the change.
4. The greater the force for change, the greater the change.
5. The less institutionalized the behaviour, the greater the change.

It is in understanding the characteristics of the population in terms of the multiple factor theory, that the changing behaviour of the individuals in the village of Sarangapur can be understood.

<div align="center">IMPLICATIONS</div>

For Action Programme

The data indicated that higher income, higher education, and higher status occupation of a person provided greater opportunity and ability to adopt more changes. All these factors were characteristic of the upper caste.

This would mean that an action programme interested in getting people to adopt changes would have more success with upper caste people than with lower caste people.

The other possibility is that such a programme aimed at change should provide greater opportunities and increase the ability of the lower castes to adopt changes.

The fact that many factors work together in bringing about particular behaviour in the individual must be realized in introducing changes. Some of these factors may be working at cross purposes. This aspect must be understood in bringing about a meaningful change. For example, the upper caste may have more opportunity and ability to change but may also have a greater vested interest in maintaining the *status quo* and keeping others, if not themselves, from changing.

For Theory

The process of change is a part of human behaviour. It is not an isolate form of behaviour. To understand the process of social change, it is necessary to have an overall theory of human behaviour and social action and social change should be understood and analysed within that frame of reference. From this point of view, it would be necessary to understand the factors that bring about change as well as those that prevent change.

Some factors in the multiple theory induce change, others restrict change. The possibility of developing a continuum of the factors which contribute most to change on one hand and the factors that inhibit change most could be explored.

There is further need to understand and explore more as to what extent each of the factors can be considered an independent variable. Is there a combination of factors that maximizes the motivation of individuals to particular forms of behaviour ? From the viewpoint of the thesis, the questions would be : "What factors listed in the theory combine to bring about most change ?"

In the present thesis the multiple factor theory was used for sensitizing purposes. The theory itself needs to be tested in a more methodical way. In order to do this, there is need for further clarification and more precise definition of the factors so that they can be more easily operationalized.

For Methodology

It is generally felt that in India the use of a schedule is not a very appropriate method for studying village communities. The present study indicated that a schedule could be used profitably, provided sufficient time was taken to explain the purpose of the study and establish other forms of rapport.

This is not to belittle the legitimate fears that have been expressed by the researchers of the value of a schedule.

In the present study, while the schedule was the major source of information, many other methods (participant and non-participant observation, informants) were used to supplement the data. The author feels that the combination of methods would be much more fruitful in understanding the rural people rather than a concentration on any one method.

For Further Research

The suggestions made are not restricted to the field of social change. The village community was studied. Many questions arose for which answers have yet to be found, which will help in understanding the rural society better.

The concept of modal village as developed in the thesis can be investigated and verified.

It was stated that the upper castes adopted more changes than the lower castes. The question of whether the lower castes wait until the upper castes make a change before they accept the change needs to be investigated. The findings of such a study would be of great help for the community development programme.

Many studies, as did the study on which the thesis is based, indicated that the extensions of the village are spread out. The effect of this spreading out, on the sense of the community in the village, has yet to be studied.

The phenomenon of hamlets has been discussed. The influence of the development of hamlets on inter-caste relations and the sense of community could be investigated.

The present study did not investigate how the values of the village people effected the changes. Some information on the existing values was gathered. How these values influence the behaviour of the individuals with regard to change will be a fruitful area for investigation.

A study of the people who deviate from the norms and their contribution towards bringing about change in the community is also suggested by the data in hand.

The multiple factor theory was used only for explanatory purposes. Further, only a few of the factors were considered. A study which can analyse all the factors of the theory in relation to change needs to be designed.

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